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THE NEEDLE PAGODA, PAO SHU T'A, HANGCHOW
A Reconstruction By J. Prip-Møller, F.I.A. Denmark
See page 56 as sketch 13.

ERRATA

- Page 10, line 25. *For Hellenistische read Hellenistische.*
Page 24, line 22. *For Shou read Shuo.*
Page 56, line 48. *For Tui read Tui.*
Page 114, footnote 81. *For p. 15 read p. 107.*
Page 115, footnote 89. *For p. 23 read p. 110.*
Page 116, footnote 91. *For p. 8 read p. 103.*
Page 119, footnote 122. *For p. 10 read p. 103.*
Page 121, footnote 132. *For p. 13 read p. 106.*
Page 122, footnote 141. *For p. 21 read p. 110.*
Page 122, footnote 148. *For p. 2 read p. 100.*
Page 128, footnote 170. *For p. 14 read p. 106.*
Page 171, footnote 2 second line. *For Fin read Ein.*

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PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of members of the Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch was held in the Wu Lien Teh Hall, 20 Museum Road, on Tuesday, 30th June 1936, when the reports of the officers and a statement of accounts were given, and officers and Members of the Council for the ensuing year were elected. The chair was taken by A. de C. Sowerby Esq., Vice President and acting President. Reports were presented as follows:

The President's Report.

It is with no little pleasure that I am able to report a very satisfactory season this year, due mainly to the increased interest the general public in Shanghai is showing in the various activities of our Society. In spite of the business depression through which we are passing in China and the resulting "hard times" plea of individuals, we have added the names of seventy-three new members to our rolls, our public lectures have been extremely well attended and our Library much used, while our Museum has continued to draw large numbers of visitors, both foreign and Chinese.

Early in the season, Mr. A. D. Blackburn, who was re-elected President of the Society at the last annual meeting, was transferred to Peiping, and so tendered his resignation from that office. This was filled by the Vice-President, Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, during the rest of the year.

Without trespassing too much upon the reports of the various officers of the Society, which will be delivered shortly by each in person, the following details concerning the season's activities may be mentioned.

Altogether fourteen lectures were given before the members of the Society in Wu Lien Teh Hall. Of these two were illustrated with both motion pictures and ordinary lantern slides, seven were illustrated with lantern slides only, the remaining five being without illustrations. It is evident that lantern slides form an added

attraction, since, it was noticeable that, regardless of subject, the lectures so illustrated were markedly better attended than those that were not. A wide range of subjects was covered by the lectures, ranging from the search for gold and other mineral bodies by electrical methods and their application to China, through travel-logues in countries as far apart as Rhodesia in South Africa and Chile in South America and exploration and big game hunting on the East Tibetan borders of China to Chinese archaeology, as revealed by discoveries made at An-yang, the ancient Shang capital, and Chinese currency, astrology, newspapers and cultural relations with Western countries.

As many of these lectures were delivered extempore they will not appear in the Society's journal, but the latter will be none the less full of interesting material, as a large number of excellent articles and papers have been received by the Editor, who promises us a bigger issue than usual. The fact that so many valuable papers have been received for publication indicates the growing importance of our journal amongst intellectual circles in all parts of the world.

It is meet and proper here to thank Messrs. Carlowitz and Company and the Eastman Kodak Company for their extreme kindness in lending projectors for some of the illustrated lectures. Although we have our own projector, it is somewhat antiquated, and cannot always be relied upon to function up to requirements. A new projector is one of the many objects upon which the Society would like to spend a little money, if it could afford to do so. But, unfortunately, we are still in the unhappy position of having to carry a heavy overdraft at the bank, while new expenses are having to be incurred in order to effect certain repairs to the building. This, of course, was to be expected, since every building, especially in a climate like Shanghai's, begins to deteriorate as soon as completed. In this respect we have been fortunate so far in that this is the first time in the three years since our present building was completed that any heavy expenditure has had to be made. In spite of these increased expenses, the Honorary Treasurer is able to report a balanced budget for the coming year, which, all things considered, is an extremely satisfactory state of affairs.

The Museum has added considerably to its collections of natural history and other objects, and has been well patronized throughout the year. On ordinary days a steady stream of visitors passes through, swelling to crowds on holidays. A series of twelve "Museum Talks" by the Honorary Director, designed more especially for school children, but sufficiently informative to attract adult members of the community, have been well attended during the past spring. It is proposed to give a further series of these informal lectures during the coming season. A number of new scenic cases have been added during the past year, while still more are in preparation.

The Library has received a goodly number of new books, mainly as donations or for review in the journal. Unfortunately funds do not permit of any expenditure on new books being made at the present time. Perhaps well wishers of the Society would bear this in mind, and, by making further donations of new books on China and the Far East, help to make up for the unavoidable shortcomings of the Society in this direction.

Our chief need at the moment is an increased membership, and, with all that the Society is now offering the Shanghai Community, it is not unreasonable to assume that many residents in this great city would be only too glad to join our ranks if properly approached. I would like to make an earnest appeal to all members of the Society to put forth a special effort during the coming year to secure more members and in every way to forward the interests of the Society, which, as the oldest cultural institution in Shanghai if not in the whole of China, should be taking a definite lead in intellectual matters in this country.

ARTHUR DE CARLE SOWERBY,
President.

Report of the Hon. Librarian.

I have the honour to present my 3rd annual report as Honorary Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch.

Our grateful thanks are due to Miss Lillian Thomason for her labours on behalf of our Library for only through her devotion and efforts has the re-cataloguing of the books been made possible. She spent her month of winter vacation with us establishing an up-to-date library system and I am glad to say she continues to take an interest in our work and that we still benefit from her advice and experience. We commenced to re-catalogue the books in February and hope to complete this undertaking shortly. The Library Assistants have worked satisfactorily, Mr. Chao being of great assistance.

During the year books were not purchased but 169 volumes in foreign languages and 2 in Chinese were presented to us. A list appears in the Journal. In May 1935, on the suggestion of Mrs. MacNair, 300 letters were sent to publishers all over the world asking for copies of their publications and as a result we have received 200 books 162 of which were acknowledged in last year's Journal. We must thank Mrs. MacNair for most kindly defraying cost of postage of all the letters.

343 books were issued to 69 members and 2,486 persons made use of our Reading Room, both figures showing a decrease on last year's.

The number of current periodicals has been increased as arrangements have been made for 10 new exchanges.

The Library is in great need of funds—books and periodicals require binding, a new catalogue is ready for the printers, and it is greatly to be regretted that important books recently published are not to be found on our shelves.

(MISS) AZIZA ABRAHAM,
Hon. Librarian.

**Report of the Honorary Director of the Shanghai
Museum (R.A.S.) for the year Ending
May 31, 1936.**

If the steadily increasing number of visitors is anything to go by, the Shanghai Museum is becoming ever more popular. Especially are the children, both Chinese and foreign, of this community learning to appreciate what this institution has to offer them, and more and more are they turning up in droves to see and marvel at the animals and birds of their native land which are displayed in such profusion. Adult members of the community, whose interests are of a wider scope, are finding the growing collections of ancient Chinese and other coins, bronzes, porcelains, tomb pottery and other archaeological objects of value to them in their studies and research work.

A second series of popular lectures or "Museum Talks" was given by the Honorary Director each Wednesday afternoon from and including February 26 to May 13, and were well attended by school children, college students and adults. They were based upon specimens in the Museum's collections, and, where these failed, were illustrated with drawings upon the blackboard. Commencing with a discussion of Peking Man and prehistoric man, generally, in China and other parts of the world, they ranged through the whole series of animal classes from the primates (apes, monkeys and lemurs) down to the lowest forms, ending with brief outline discussions of Chinese archaeology and art. It is hoped that such lectures will become a regular feature in the Museum's programme of public service, as there can be no doubt that they are of the greatest value to a community peculiarly lacking in educational facilities along the lines they cover.

Further to increase the usefulness of the Museum to the younger members of the Shanghai community the Museum Guide, which was suggested in my last report, is being prepared, in fact, is well on the way to completion and it is confidently expected that it will be available for use by the time our next season commences in October. It is proposed to publish it in Chinese as well as in English, and to illustrate it with attractive pictures of the more outstanding exhibits, the blocks being supplied at no cost to the Society by courtesy of "The China Journal." This has entailed a great deal of work in going over, rearranging, naming and listing the specimens in the various departments, in which the useful services of Mr. Irving S. Brown of the U. S. Marine Corps in his leisure hours has been greatly appreciated.

When the Museum Guide shall have been published the next task before the members of the staff will be the preparation of Catalogues, a task that will call for a considerable expenditure of time and labour.

During the past season two handsome scenic cases have been added to those previously installed. The cost of these, \$50, was graciously borne by Mr. Mark L. Moody, well-known Shanghai business man, who also donated the two so-called Manchurian roedeer, which have been mounted in natural surroundings and scenic

background in one of them. The other contains two other rare species of Chinese deer, the crested muntjac and the Szechuan tufted deer. The former of these is one of only five known specimens in the museums of the world, and was presented by Mr. E. H. Clayton of Hangchow.

The splendid specimen of the Szechuan takin presented last year by Mr. Jack T. Young, the well known Chinese explorer, and his brother, Mr. Quentin Young, has been successfully mounted, and now stands in a glass case, a handsome addition to the exhibits.

During the year we have received many appeals from abroad for special objects of zoological interest, and have been instrumental in supplying a series of Eastern great reed-warblers' eggs to a well known ornithologist in England, a fossil egg of the prehistoric ostrich that once roamed North China to a British palaeontologist and a series of Chinese hairy-clawed or mitten crabs to a British zoologist interested in the recent appearance of this Far Eastern crustacean in British inland waters.

The Public Health Department of the Municipal Council has on several occasions sent specimens of birds and fish from the Hongkew Market for identification and we have been able to provide the required information, as well as to state whether or not these species are suitable for human consumption. This is particularly important in the case of certain species of poisonous fish, since cases of death by poisoning through eating such fish have occurred from time to time in Shanghai, and it is important that the sale of these poisonous species should be prohibited.

The Taxidermist's Shop has been very busy throughout the past year. Not only have the members of our staff stuffed and mounted considerable numbers of birds and animals for sportsmen and private collectors, but they have been in much demand in overhauling, cleaning and adding to zoological collections in various schools and colleges in Shanghai.

The collections in the zoological and other departments in the Museum have been appreciably added to during the year, as will be seen by the following itemized list:

ARCHEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

Mr. Stuart Lillico presented the Museum with some pieces of Neolithic pottery excavated by himself from a *loess* deposit near T'ai-ku Hsien in Shansi, as well as with the head of a small roof-dog or lion from the Ming Tombs at Nanking.

A bronze vessel and two pottery jars, the latter of the Sung period, have been presented by Mr. D. M. Melnikoff of Hankow, while several other bronze vessels have been placed in the Museum on temporary loan.

A collection of thirty-eight tomb figures of Han, Sui, Wei and T'ang times, representing domestic animals, such as the horse, ox, sheep, pig, dog, goose, duck and chicken, has been placed on loan by Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, while Mr. H. E. Gibson has also placed on exhibition his interesting collection of inscribed bones and tortoise shell and carved bone objects of the Shang period.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

The Museum's collection of primitive weapons has been increased by a donation from Mr. D. L. Ralph, who has recently left Shanghai for England, of three hunting spears of the Sabei Tribe, East Africa, and a shield, arrows and quiver belonging to a native called Chepsigore, who, after killing a lion with a spear similar to those just mentioned, commenced a reign of terror in the Sabei district, but was eventually hunted down and killed.

A human skull which was picked up on the beach at Wei-hai-wei was presented to the Museum by Drs. Evan Jones and J. D. Riddell of Shanghai.

NUMISMATICS DEPARTMENT

In this department there has not been much activity during the past year. The foreign coin collection was increased by a few odd pieces from different parts of the world. An extremely interesting series of sixty-one different Russian Bank notes, including examples of those issued during the Romanoff, Kerensky and Soviet régimes, were received from Mr. Melnikoff of Hankow. A few Rouble notes were also received from Mr. Francis Switzer of Shanghai, as well as some of the coins already mentioned.

ZOOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

The zoological collections in the Museum have been notably increased during the year, the following donations having been received:

Mammology: A hoolock or white-faced gibbon (*Hylobates hoolock*, Harlan) and a bearded macaque (*Macaca spec. incon.*) were received from the Zoological Gardens at Jessfield Park. Of these the latter is an extremely interesting specimen brought here by Mr. Floyd Tangier Smith from the Chinese-Tibetan border region, and may represent a hitherto unknown species.

A good specimen of the loris (*Nycticebus*), a tailless form of lemur found in Malaya, Indo-China and South China, was also received from Jessfield Zoo.

Mr. Harold Reynell of Shanghai donated the skull of a tiger shot by Mr. Rolland Bandinel in French Indo-China, while a good specimen of our local wild cat (*Felis bengalensis chinensis*, Gray) was received from Mr. Tordy also of this city.

From the Jessfield Zoo two palm civets (*Paguma larvata*, H. Smith), a Chinese otter (*Lutra lutra chinensis*, Gray) and a raccoon dog (*Nyctereutes procyonides*, Gray) were received, and from the Health Department of the Shanghai Municipal Council a badger (*Meles leptorhynchus*, Milne-Edwards).

The Jessfield Zoo also supplied a blue sheep (*Pseudois nahoor szechuanensis*, Rothschild) from the Chinese-Tibetan border.

Two fine wild boars' heads (*Sus scrofa* L.) from Hungary was presented by Mr. H. L. Ockermuller of Shanghai, and two hippopotamus tusks from Lake Victoria Nyanza, Uganda, Africa, by Mr. D. L. Ralph.

Ornithology: Quite a number of birds have been received during the past year, further enriching the Museum's fine ornithological collection.

From the Health Department of the Shanghai Municipal Council the following, all secured locally, were received:

Red-tailed Thrush (*Turdus naumanni*, Temminck).
Grey Starling (*Spodiopsar cineraceus*, Temminck).
Eastern Redshank (*Tringa totanus eurhinus*, Oberholser).

Thick-billed Knot (*Tringa crassirostris*, T. and S.)
 Eastern Golden Plover (*Pluvialis dominicus fulvus*, Gmelin).
 Eastern Grey Plover (*Squatarola hypomelana*, Pallas).
 Eastern Dotterel or Sand Plover (*Eupodella vereda*, Gould).
 Chinese Pond Heron (*Ardeola bacchus*, Bonaparte).

From the Jessfield Zoo the following:

Cornish Chough (*Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax* L.) brought from the Chinese-Tibetan border by Mr. Floyd Tangier Smith.
 Yangtze Black-tailed Hawfinch (*Eophona migratoria pulla*, Penard).
 Red-billed Iiothrix (*Liothrix lutea*, Scopoli).
 Two Golden Eagles (*Aquila chrysaetos hodgsoni*, Ticehurst) from West China.
 Tibetan Pucras pheasant (*Pucrasia meyeri*, Madarez) from West China.
 Blue Eared Pheasant (*Crossoptilon auritum*, Pallas) from West China.
 White Eared Pheasant (*Crossoptilon crossoptilon*, Hodgson) from West China.
 Temminck's Tragopan (*Tragopan temminckii*, Gr. and Hardw.) from West China.
 Pallas' Pintailed Sand Grouse (*Syrhaptes paradoxus*, Pallas).
 Common Teal (*Nettion crecca*, L.).
 Eastern Curlew (*Numenius arquata orientalis*, Brehm.).

From Mrs. H. E. Gibson of Shanghai the following:

North China Chough (*Pyrrhocorax brachypus*, Swinhoe).
 Chinese Pitta (*Pitta nympha*, T. and S.)
 White-headed Bulbul (*Microscelis leucocephalus*, Gmelin).

From Mr. C. A. Crispin of Shanghai:

Grey-headed Lapwing (*Microsarcops cinereus*, Blyth).

From Mr. Ludovicus Peng of Shanghai:

Long-eared Owl (*Asio otus*, L.).

Other Chinese birds acquired during the year were:

Osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*, L.).
 Asiatic Sparrow-hawk (*Accipiter nisus nisosimilis*, Tickell).
 Japanese Kestrel (*Cerchneis tinunculus japonensis*, Ticehurst).
 Brown Hawk-Owl (*Ninox scutulata*, Raffles).
 Jankowski's Swan (*Cygnus jankowskii*, Alpheraky).

The following birds belonging to foreign countries were received:

Two Birds-of-Paradise from New Guinea, presented by Mrs. J. Carrière; a small green Parakeet and a young Cassowary from Jessfield Zoo; and a brightly coloured Parakeet from Mrs. H. E. Gibson.

Herpetology: Mr. A. de C. Sowerby presented the skull of a Yangtze Alligator (*Alligator sinensis*, Fauvel) said to have come from the T'ai Hu near Soochow in Kiangsu.

Ichthyology: A collection of twenty-three fancy golden carp (*Carassius auratus*, L.) of different varieties was donated by Dr. V. P. Ping of Shanghai.

Invertebrates: The staff of the cable steamer "Store Nordiske," belonging to the Great Northern Telegraph Company on April 28 last collected a number of marine animal growths while repairing a sub-marine cable off the east coast of Korea in Latitude 41° 12' North and Longitude 129° 48' East at a depth of 140 to 160 fathoms with a bottom temperature of 1° Centigrade. These were preserved and kindly presented to the Museum. The collection has not yet been worked over, but it contains a considerable number of interesting forms, which were found encrusted on the cable being repaired.

GEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

An extremely interesting specimen in the form of a large cube of Loess was received from Mr. Raymond T. Moyer of the Oberlin Shansi Mission Schools. It was taken from an original loess deposit near T'ai-ku Hsien in Shansi, and therefore shows all the peculiar

characteristics of this remarkable yellow aeolian formation which lies like a mantle over vast stretches of country in North and North-west China. Especially noticeable are the innumerable capillaries or small tubes running vertically through the substance, which it has been suggested, cause the verticle cleavage so characteristic of *loess*, but the origin of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. These capillaries range from almost microscopical dimensions to tubes of an eighth to a quarter of an inch or even more in diameter.

Dr. H. Couper Patrick of Shanghai presented the Museum with a specimen of lava from Mount Vesuvius.

Perhaps in this department may be included a relief map of China, executed and presented to the Museum by Mr. D. W. Wagstaff of Shanghai. This shows in a very graphic way the distribution of mountains, hills, plains, rivers and lakes in this country and serves a useful purpose in helping students of Chinese zoology, palaeontology and botany to understand the distribution of animal and plant life and of geological formations.

ARTHUR DE CARLE SOWERBY,
Honorary Director.

Report of the Editor of the Journal

Vol. LXVI (1935) of the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was actually the sixty eighth successive number to appear since Elijah Coleman Bridgman published his inaugural address in Volume I (1858). First American missionary in China, first editor of the Chinese Repository and first President of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,¹ the life of this remarkable man has been recently reviewed in a valuable paper designated "An Early American Sinologue"².

The purpose of the organization was eloquently outlined by Dr. Bridgman in his inaugural address (October 16, 1857), published in the first number of the *Journal*.

"Facing this distinguished Shanghai audience on the eve of China's second war with Great Britain," he said, "We seem to be on the eve of some great convulsion. In China, as in India, momentous revolutions are doubtless near at hand. . . . To what extent are our high functionaries, deputed to negotiate with the Supreme Government of China, prepared to grapple with the master-minds of this empire? . . . " To "acquire a profound and thorough knowledge of the mind and intellectual capacities of the Chinese. . . . The study of their language, no matter how hard to be acquired, must be taken up and in greater or less degree mastered. . . . The ancient and modern classics, the historical, poetical, and philosophical writings of the Chinese, are far more elaborate than those of any other people. Digests of their laws and statutes, the general statistics of the empire extending through many successive generations, voluminous treatises on religion, education, music, the healing art; these and many other kindred subjects, all claim from the members of this Society early and careful consideration." Wells Williams, acting as Secretary of Legation, was returning from Japan to China in the suite of the American minister in October of 1858 and was asked to give a

¹ Then the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society.

² By Mrs. Susan Reed Stiffler in *The Amherst Graduate's Quarterly*, February and May 1935, from which the succeeding excerpt is taken.—*Editor*.

lecture on Japan before this same society. Sitting at Bridgman's side on the platform, he surveyed a "larger audience than anyone present remembered to have seen assembled in that place" and remarked in his journal that "Dr. Bridgman . . . regards the experiment as a decidedly successful relief to the routine of dollars and dinners which so completely engross this community."

For these intervening seventy-nine years, to quote from a recent letter of Dr. John C. Ferguson, past President of the Society and some time Editor of the *Journal*, and one of its most generous contributors, "The *Journal* is the heart of the Society and must be maintained in full strength . . . The Society would soon disintegrate without the *Journal*. It is the one form of the Society's activities which reaches every member." When it is realized that of our ordinary membership of 670, 240 representing an annual income from membership dues of \$1,680, reside outside of Shanghai, away from lecture hall, library, and museum, the truth of Dr. Ferguson's remarks appears self-evident.

With this importance of the *Journal* in mind, accordingly, your Editor during the four years of his stewardship has spared no pains to maintain its high standard. Some of the most valuable contributions to a scientific study of China originally appeared in the pages of the JNCBRAS. For example Bretschneider's papers on the botany and the pharmacopaea of China, *Botanicum Sinicum*, occupied three various numbers (Vols. XVI (1881)-I, XXV (1890-91), XXIX (1894-95)-I. They have formed the groundwork of the succeeding studies in Chinese materia medica of Drs. Bernard Read (Henry Lester Institute), Drs. Wu Lien-teh and K. Chimin Wong (National Quarantine Service), Walter T. Swingle (U. S. Library of Congress) and M. J. Hagerty (U. S. Dept. of Agriculture). The same scholar's celebrated "Notices of the Medieval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia, etc." (Vol. X, 1876) likewise was sponsored by this Society's publication. Since the issue of Index to the JNCBRAS from Vol. I to Vol. LIV by the late Peter Blair Ferguson, PH.D., no further list of the articles by title which have appeared in the *Journal* has been compiled. Mr. Samuel Sokobin, American Consul at Tsingtao, has recently called attention to this need which we hope will soon be met. Recent contributions have not been confined to scholars residing in China. On the other hand there has been no scarcity of contributors among our membership in China itself.

The cost of publishing the *Journal*, it must be admitted, has increased in recent years but so has the quality of the volume, it may be safely said, as well as size of the editions. In printing and format the Editor and the publishers, Messrs. Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., have endeavored to issue a simple but attractive volume which will find a permanent place in the libraries of our members. Complete sets of the *Journal* are now rare and can no longer be obtained from the Society which maintains a minimum reserve of 5 copies of each volume. The increasing membership and the larger number of exchanges (117) made it necessary to increase the 1935 edition from 800 copies as in 1934, to 1100. The cost of this edition, larger by over one third, was kept down to little more than that of the previous year by increasing the type area per page. The more generous use

of plates, to accompany authors' articles, adding materially to their interest and value, has enhanced costs. Fortunately sales of the Journal to non-members, libraries and other institutions go a considerable way in defraying the cost of publication.

The scope and volume of Chinese studies in China as well as abroad are being constantly enlarged. This is evidenced by the establishment of new centres of instruction and research throughout the Universities of America and England due largely to the stimulus in the former country rendered by the Committees on the Promotion of Far Eastern Studies under the American Council of Learned Societies, and in the latter country by the financial and other encouragement rendered by the Board of Trustees which has available funds earmarked for the purposes from the British Boxer Indemnity Refund. Studies in Chinese culture in Japan are promoted by the well known Toyo Gaku Ho and the Toyo Bunko whose scholarly publications may now be consulted in this Society's library.

The great centres of Chinese studies in Europe, particularly in France and Germany, continue to produce the mature work of their scholars in such vehicles as *T'oung Pao*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, the publications of *Die Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, *Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, etc. Opportunities for Chinese studies abroad whether in philology, belles-lettres, fine arts or history are thus greatly enlarged over earlier days. Various problems are necessarily arising: with the increase and improvement of instructional personnel, a considerable number of scholars are seeking an outlet for their training. This should be found in teaching positions, in research and productive scholarship, in libraries and museums.³

The aspect of these developments which involves most intimately this Society and particularly the Editor's responsibilities is the newer type of publication which is appearing in the sinological field. Not to differentiate too closely between the humanities and the social sciences, we find here in China such a sumptuous publication as *Monumenta Serica* newly produced by the Catholic University of Peiping, the older *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* (Peiping) and the *Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly* (Tientsin), all splendidly edited by scholars of renown. The initial number of *The Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* edited by Elisséeff, Gardner and Ware has come to hand; while *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* published by l'Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises under the direction of Professor de La Vallée Poussin has only reached its third volume. It is thus incumbent upon our Society to maintain a sinological organ which will as far as circumstances permit, compare in scholarship on a favourable footing with its numerous contemporaries in China and abroad.

Conscious accordingly of the need of further aid in the editing and general management of the *Journal* of this Society, responsibilities too onerous for the present Editor single handed, the Council has given its consent to the formation of an Editorial Committee

³ An informed discussion of these problems has been prepared by Mr. Mortimer Graves, Secretary of the Committees on Chinese and Japanese Studies for the confidential information of the members of the Committees.—Editor.

each member of which will coöperate with the Editor in a specified field. The Editor has been fortunate in coöpting for these purposes Dr. F. R. Millican of the Christian Literature Society for China, Professor Donald Roberts of St. John's University, and Mr. Carl Crow whose wide experience in the technical aspects of publishing has already provided valuable improvements and economies in the publication of the *Journal*.

ESSON M. GALE,
Editor of the Journal.

Report of the Honorary Treasurer.

The financial statement shown on pages xv to xvi was presented as audited, and upon proposal of Mr. H. Touty, seconded by Mr. R. D. Abraham, was by vote of the meeting passed.

The Report of the Honorary Secretary.

The Society has continued to make progress during the year. Certain problems, however, still need to be solved.

Activities of the Year. A series of fourteen lectures has been provided, a list of which is appended. A series of twelve Museum Talks has been given by the Director of the Museum. This is a new feature inaugurated last year which has been increasingly popular. The reports of the Librarian and Director of the Museum indicate that these have been rendering real service. Progress is being made in improving the service. The Museum has been made more attractive by scenic backgrounds in a number of the cases painted in by the Director, who displayed unexpected artistic talent. The librarian has under way the recataloguing of the library. Certain other improvements are under consideration.

Extension of the Influence of the Society. The membership of the Society shows a net gain of over 50, making the total over 900. The plans of the Council for the coming year contemplate a membership of 1,000.

Changes in Personnel. The president, A. D. Blackburn, C.B.E. was transferred to Peiping early in the year, and the Vice President, A. de C. Sowerby, Esq. has served as Acting President. The Hon. Treasurer, A. C. Leith, Esq. resigned, and has been succeeded by W. H. Stewart, Esq.

Acknowledgment. The Society acknowledges with thanks the grant of the Shanghai Municipal Council.

Service to Schools. Your Secretary has conferred with the school authorities in the Settlement with regard to integrating the Museum with the work of the schools. A guide to the Museum is nearing completion. Your Secretary has special pleasure in announcing the engagement of an experienced museum officer who will serve part time as Educational Director, and will be in charge of the service to schools. This will be inaugurated this fall.

Financial Problems. Two years ago the Society was faced with three financial problems. In pursuance of a new financial policy adopted a year and a half ago, the first problem, that of running

behind on the current budget, was solved by securing some 250 new members so that the Society is now on a balanced budget. The second problem of the interest on the overdraft has been solved by renting a sufficient portion of the building so that the rentals carry the interest. The Society is now in a position to turn to the third problem, that of clearing off the indebtedness of \$58,000. This will not be an easy matter. Certain plans are being worked out which will be made public in due course.

Shanghai as a Cultural Center. Congratulations are due to Mayor Wu and the administration of Greater Shanghai for the completion of the new Museum and Library buildings at the Civic Center. These carry further the development of Shanghai as a cultural center. In this development this Society has taken a worthy part. It should have an even larger share in enabling the Settlement to do its part in this further cultural development. There are great possibilities. The service to schools is a first step. Several other lines of activity are in mind. To carry out such a program will call for the joint efforts of both the municipality and private societies like this.

E. H. CRESSY,
Hon. Secretary.

List of Lectures delivered in the Wu Lien Teh Hall of the Society are as follows:—

| 1935 | | |
|----------|------|--|
| October | 17th | Dr. Erik T. Nystrom on "Hunting gold, metallic ores and petroleum with electricity; the modern miracle of geophysics". ⁴ |
| October | 31st | Dr. Anne Walter Fearn on "A tour in South Africa". Illustrated with motion pictures by Mr. F. L. Robbins. |
| November | 14th | Professor A. F. Barker on "The land of the Incas". Illustrated with motion pictures and lantern slides. |
| November | 27th | Mr. Brooke Dolan II on "Unknown Eastern Tibet". Illustrated with lantern slides. |
| December | 5th | Dr. John B. Appleton on "The geographical background of China's civilization". |
| December | 12th | Dr. Roswell S. Britton on "The Chinese periodical Press". ⁵ |
| 1936 | | |
| January | 9th | Dr. Kiang Kang Hu on "Cultural relations between China and the West". |
| January | 30th | Herr Ernest Schafer on "The natural history of Eastern Tibet". Illustrated with lantern slides. |
| February | 13th | Mr. E. Kann on "The development of Chinese currency with special reference to recent reforms". Illustrated with lantern slides. |
| February | 27th | Dr. Robert F. Fitch on "The Lure of Buddhist temples". Illustrated with lantern slides. |
| March | 19th | Dr. Herbert Chatley on "The Chinese Astrological Theory of Creation". ⁴ |
| April | 2nd | Mr. H. E. Gibson on "Bone Inscriptions of Shang". Illustrated with lantern slides and specimens. ⁴ |
| April | 23rd | Professor James M. Menzies on "The Art of the Shang and Chow Dynasties". Illustrated with lantern slides. ⁵ |
| April | 30th | Professor James M. Menzies on "The Culture and Religious Ideas of the Shang Dynasty". Illustrated with Charts, Exhibits and lantern slides. ⁵ |

⁴ Published in full in this volume.

⁵ An abstract of the lecture given in "Sinological Notes."

MUSEUM TALKS.

A series of 12 "Museum Talks" delivered by Mr. A. de C. Sowerby in the Museum:—

| | | |
|----------|------|--|
| February | 26th | Peking Man, our oldest Ancestor in China. |
| March | 4th | The Primates, or Great Apes, Monkeys and Lemurs. |
| March | 11th | The Larger Mammals of China. |
| March | 18th | The Smaller Mammals of China. |
| March | 25th | The Birds of China. |
| April | 1st | The Reptiles and Amphibians of China. |
| April | 8th | The Fishes of China. |
| April | 15th | The Insects and Crustaceans of China. |
| April | 22nd | The Mollusks of China |
| April | 29th | Some Chinese Fossils. |
| May | 6th | Chinese Archaeology. |
| May | 18th | The Art of China. |

Election of Officers.

The following Officers and Members of the Council for the year 1936-37 were elected:—

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| President | A. de C. Sowerby, Esq., F.Z.S., F.R.G.S. |
| Vice-Presidents | R. D. Abraham, Esq. Dr. Wu Lien-teh, M.A., M.D. (Cantab.), LL.D., D.Sc. |
| Hon. Director of Museum | A. de C. Sowerby, Esq., F.Z.S., F.R.G.S. |
| Hon. Keeper of Archaeology | H. E. Gibson, Esq. |
| Hon. Keeper of Conchology | Prof. Teng-Chien Yen |
| Hon. Keeper of Ichthyology | Prof. Yuanting T. Chu |
| Hon. Keeper of Ornithology | E. S. Wilkinson, Esq. |
| Hon. Librarian | Miss A. Abraham |
| Hon. Treasurer | William H. Stewart, Esq. |
| Editor of Journal | Esson M. Gale, Esq., M.A., PH.D. (Leyden). |
| Councillors | Julean Arnold, Esq. Sir J. F. Brenan, K.C.M.G. H. Chatley, Esq., D.Sc. (Lond.) Ch. Grosbois, Esq., M.A. A. J. Hughes, Esq. J. R. Jones, Esq., M.A. C. Kliene, Esq. Prof. J. Usang Ly. Rev. J. R. Millican Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott, D.D. Dr. Bernard E. Read Baroness Von Ungern Sternberg C. T. Wang, Esq., LL.D. W. H. Way, Esq. G. L. Wilson, Esq., F.S.I. Rev. E. H. Cressy, B.D. |
| Hon. Secretary | |

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the President and the officers of the Society, on motion of Dr. Chatley, seconded by Mrs. H. A. Wilbur.

LIST OF NEW MEMBERS—JUNE, 1935 TO JUNE 30, 1936.

Aeschliman, Rev. Ed. J.
Anstice, E. H.

Barton, Miss E.
Bergling, Rev. R. M.
Berlin, Arthur
Bingham, Dr. W.
Blix, Peter
Bogomoloff, H.E. D. V.*
Boothby, B.
Bridges, F. S.
Brown, Capt. C. C.
Butrick, R. P.

Chang Shuh Ling
Cheang, K. C.
Cheang, K. Z.
Chen, C.
Chen, H. C.
Collins, Miss K.

Dobbs, F. E. L.

Elzear, T. M.

Foo, Dr. Ping-Sheung

Gauss, C. E.
Genechten, Rev. E. van

Herz, Rudolf
Hsu, W. Sewson

Huldermann,

Jen, Dr. Yu-Wen
Jordan, Mrs. F. C.

Kallberg, Miss E.
Kao, Perkins
Kau, Dr. L. S.
Kennedy, Capt. E. R.
Kiang, Dr. Kang-Hu
Klebanoff, N. M.
Koester, Dr. H.*
Kuo, Dr. P. C.

Landale, D. F.
Lederer, P.
Lee, W. Y.
Lee, Dr. John Y.*
Liu, Chungshee H.
Low, P. C.

Mackenzie, I. C.
McDonald, B. A.
Meyer, Paul W.
Molgaard, Dr. V. B.

Niskanen, V.

Oldroyd, Miss G. N.
Osborn, Rev. G. R.

Pak, Dr. Chubyung

Palmer, A. B.
Perry, C. E.
Pollock, F. A.

Quong, Miss Rose

Sanger, F. J.
Sargent, C. B.
Schmitz, G. H.
Sherriff, Dr. Florence J.
Shimoda, U.
Shneider, A.
Shrimpton, E. R. G.
Sjoholm, Rev. G. A.
Skryme, F. H. E.
Spilwanek, Hon. Ivan
Steen, O. G.
Stewart, W. H.

Thornton, A. E.
Timperley, H. J.
Turner, J. H. L.

Vereinigung der Fre-
unde des China-Inst-
itute Frankfurt a./M.

Walline, Rev. E. E.
Wei, H.
Worton, Major W. A.
Wunsch, Dr. H.

RESIGNATIONS.

Bahnson, J. J.
Baillie, T. G.
Block, M. S.
Elahi, M. F.
Glathe, A.
Heacock, Mrs. H. E.
Heaney, R. S.

Hindson, C. L.
Hough, Mrs. F. L.
Inst. of Chinese Cultural
Studies
Irvine, Miss A.
Lenz, Dr. G. Jahn-
Macbeth, Miss A.

Maitland, H.
Moses, Mrs. A. E.
Speyer, C. S.
Tsao, Y. H.
Welch, Bishop H.
Williams, Capt. C. C.

DEATHS.

Biallas, Rev. Dr. F. X.
Corbett, R. J.

Crisler, C. C.
Hough, Frank L.

Service, R. R.

* Indicates Life Member.

CHANGES:

Dr. F. W. Ayscough—Mrs. H. F. MacNair
Dr. V. Contag —Dr. Victoria von Winterfeldt
Cheloo University —Augustine Library, Cheeloo University.

PROCEEDINGS

XV

CLASSIFIED AS:—

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|
| Honorary Members | 14 | Residing in Shanghai | 471 |
| Life Members | 173 | „ elsewhere in China | 155 |
| Ordinary Members | 715 | „ in other countries | 201 |
| | | Address unknown | 75 |
| | <u>902</u> | | <u>902</u> |
| List 1935 | 852 | Resignations | 19 |
| New Members | 74 | Deaths | 5 |
| | <u>926</u> | | <u>24</u> |
| | | | |
| | | 926 | |
| | | 24 | |
| Present Membership | 902 | | |

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, NORTH CHINA BRANCH STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING 30TH MAY, 1936.

| INCOME. | | EXPENDITURE. | |
|--|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| To Balance 30th May, 1935 | \$1,632.22 | By Rates & Taxes | \$3,677.50 |
| Subscriptions:— | | Land Tax | 800.37 |
| Life | \$ 729.75 | Water | 164.12 |
| Annual | 2,857.92 | Electricity | 687.12 |
| | <u>\$3,587.67</u> | Coal & Firewood | 1,394.20 |
| Interest on Debentures:— | | Wages:— | |
| S. M. C. | \$100.70 | Librarian | \$2,074.43 |
| Shanghai Power Co. .. | 80.16 | Taxidermist | 1,368.72 |
| Shanghai Waterworks .. | 67.14 | Liftman | 335.75 |
| Mackenzie & Co. | 58.74 | Furnaceman | 417.04 |
| | <u>306.74</u> | | <u>4,195.89</u> |
| Interest on Current Account | 124.75 | Advertising:— | |
| S. M. C. Grants | 7,000.00 | North China Daily News .. | 321.60 |
| Museum | 51.27 | Evening Post & Mercury .. | 100.80 |
| Hire of Hall | 60.00 | Shanghai Times | 13.65 |
| Rentals:— | | | <u>679.65</u> |
| China Journal | \$1,678.32 | Subscriptions:— | |
| S. Osborn & Co., Ltd. .. | 2,400.00 | Kokka Publishing Co. .. | 59.44 |
| | <u>4,078.32</u> | China Digest | 10.00 |
| Sales of Journals | 749.97 | Chinese Recorder | 5.00 |
| Sundries | 6.60 | China Journal | 12.50 |
| | <u>\$17,597.54</u> | India Society (3 years) .. | 45.34 |
| Debit balance carried forward to next year's a/c | 2,483.72 | | <u>132.28</u> |
| | | Maintenance of Lift | 173.00 |
| | | Printing | 2,107.80 |
| | | Postage | 179.86 |
| | | Insurance | 483.85 |
| | | Steel Filing Cabinets | 153.80 |
| | | Repairs | 103.96 |
| | | Sundries | 105.50 |
| | | Sundries | 103.96 |
| | | Refund Maurice Roy | 144.00 |
| | | Recommission—G. M. Boligon .. | 20.00 |
| | | Interest on "Building Fund" overdraft .. | 4,878.86 |
| | <u>\$20,081.26</u> | | <u>\$20,081.26</u> |

Examined & found to agree with the books & vouchers of the Society.
H. V. PARKER,
Shanghai, 30th May, 1936.

W. H. STEWART,
Hon. Treasurer.

PROCEEDINGS

BUILDING FUND ACCOUNT

STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 30TH MAY, 1936.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| To Interest on Overdraft .. | \$ 4,878.36 | By Debit balance 30/5/36 .. | \$58,373.91 |
| Debit balance 30/5/36 .. | 58,373.91 | Transfer from R.A.S. Working Account .. | 4,878.36 |
| | <u>\$63,252.27</u> | | <u>\$63,252.27</u> |

Examined and found to agree with the
books and vouchers of the Society.

H. V. PARKER.

W. H. STEWART,
Hon. Treasurer.

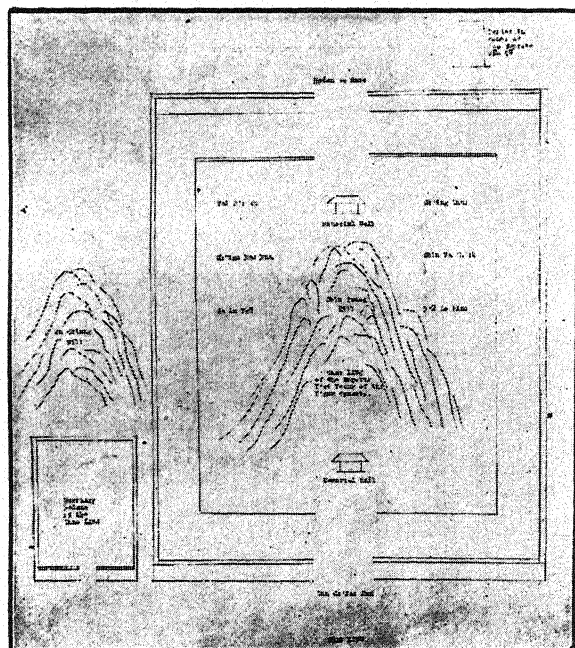
SHANGHAI, 30TH MAY, 1936.

List of Securities held by the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank.

| | | | |
|---------|--|------------|------------|
| 1 Deb. | Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., 1st Mortgage | 6% 1915 @ | £700. |
| 2 Debs. | Shanghai Municipal Loan, | 6% 1925 @ | £100 each. |
| 5 Debs. | " " " | 6% 1926 @ | £100 each. |
| 1 Deb. | " " " | 6% 1926 @ | £500. |
| 1 Deb. | Shanghai Power Co., " | 5½% 1933 @ | \$1,000. |
| 8 Debs. | Shanghai Waterworks Co., Ltd. | 6% 1932 @ | £100 each. |
| | Letter from Shanghai Power Co., dated 7th July, 1934, acknowledging that they hold three shares Shanghai Power Company Pref. | | |

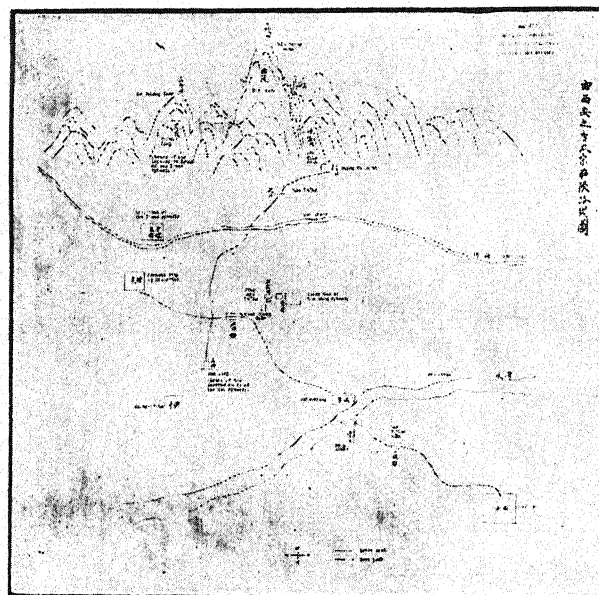
Insurance Policies held by Hongkong and Shanghai Bank.

Employers' Liability Co., Policy No. 1322359, \$181,818 due 2nd October, 1935.
New Zealand Insurance Co. Fire Policy No. 42613, \$105,560 due 3rd May, 1935.



MAP I

Map of Chao Ling, showing the location of the stone figures of the Six Horses, taken from the Map of Chao Ling. See Illustration II.



MAP II

Map of route taken by S. K. Chang in May 1935 from Hsi-an to the site of the tomb of T'ang T'ai Tsung.

THE SIX HORSES OF T'ANG T'AI TSUNG

By JOHN C. FERGUSON

In Vol. III of *Eastern Art*, published by the College Art Association, Memorial Hall, Philadelphia, I had an article on "The Six Horses at the Tomb of the Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang Dynasty" and in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, December 1935, there appeared "The Horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung and the Stele of Yu" by Miss Helen E. Fernald. In my paper I called attention to the lack of any announcement as to whether the University Museum considers the two horses in its collection to be parts of the original T'ang dynasty set or of the Sung dynasty replicas. Miss Fernald, who kindly sent me a copy of her paper read at a meeting of the American Oriental Society, April 3, 1934, answers emphatically "Yes, they are the originals" and says that this "can be easily proved by comparing them with the photographs taken by Chavannes about 1909 when he visited the Chao Ling."

It has not seemed to me that the problem of the date of these horse tablets, two of which are in the University Museum, Philadelphia, and four in the Provincial Library at Hsi-an, could be determined as easily as Miss Fernald tried to solve it and I decided to make further investigations. Fortunately the journey to Hsi-an can now be made by railway and there are many new motor roads in the country surrounding this ancient city. After careful planning the work of investigation was undertaken by my fellow worker, Mr. S. K. Chang, who has furnished me with the largest share of the information contained in this paper. I have considered it of great importance to fix the date of these stone figures in the same way as that of the horse before the grave of Ho Ch'ü-ping¹ which I described in "Artibus Asiae" Nov. 4, 1929. If we have a few definitive dates in the history of Chinese sculpture it will help us greatly in a systematic study of this subject.

The information in my earlier paper was based upon the statements of the Gazetteers of Shensi, Ch'ang-an and Li-chüan, and upon the records of two visitors, Chang Ch'ao² and Lin T'ung³. I have now been able to add to these sources the evidence of (1) the in-

¹雷去病 ²張昭 ³林伺

scription on a stone tablet erected A.D. 973 in the sixth year of the K'ai Pao era of the first emperor of the Sung dynasty, composed by Li Jung⁴ and transcribed by Sun Ch'ung-wang⁵; (2) a complete rubbing of "The Tablet of the Picture of the Six Horses"⁶ erected by Yu Shih-hsiung⁷ A.D. 1089, a translation of the top part of the front side of which was given by me in my former paper followed by a translation of the captions above each of the six horses; (3) a rubbing of the map of Chao Ling engraved by the order of Yu Shih-hsiung on the reverse side of the A.D. 973 tablet; (4) rubbings of the modern Pao Ching T'ang⁸ stones; and (5) photographs of the four horses in the Provincial Library.

The K'ai Pao tablet was known to me at the time of my former writing as its inscription is recorded in Chin Shih Ts'ui Pien⁹, *chüan* 124, p. 23, but I did not know its exact location or its present condition. Mr. Chang found it on the south of the village of Ning Chia Ts'un¹⁰ on the west side of the road. This is about thirty *li* east of the present city of Li-ch'üan. It is the site of an earlier city of Li-ch'üan which was built in the first years of the Sung dynasty after its removal from the T'ang dynasty site north of the Kan River.¹¹ All of these sites of Li-ch'üan may be seen on map. II. At present there are no signs of a city in this neighborhood but the place is known among the local people as the Old District City, *chü hsien*.¹² Ning Chia Ts'un is a small collection of hamlets with mud walls and thatched roofs inhabited by seven families, all of the surname Ning. Outside the south gate of the small village is a threshing floor on the right hand as one goes southward and on the left may be seen the ruins of a temple with some clay figures against a wall which has not completely fallen down. Immediately to the south are two tablets on tortoise pedestals half buried in the earth. The tablet on the west side of the road is called Ta Sung Hsin Hsiu T'ang T'ai Tsung Miao Pei¹³ (see Illustration 1) and is dated the sixth year of K'ai Pao, i.e. A.D. 973. For convenience I have given it the name of the K'ai Pao tablet. On the back of this tablet is engraved a Map of Chao Ling above which is an annotation dated the first year of Shao Shêng, A.D. 1094. The map was prepared by the district magistrate on the orders of Yu Shih-hsiung. The full name of this map is T'ang T'ai Tsung Chao Ling T'u¹⁴ (see Illustration 2). On the east side of the road is the tablet Chao Ling Lu Chün Pei¹⁵ on which are incised the Six Horses with an annotation above them by Yu Shih-hsiung dated the fourth year of Yüan Yu, A.D. 1089 (see Illustration 3). A translation of this annotation was given by me in my earlier paper. On the back of this tablet are two annotations one dated the fourth year of Shao Shêng, A.D. 1097, and the other the fifth year of Ming Ch'ang, A.D. 1194 (see Illustration 4). This valuable tablet is now disfigured by the crude carving of a seventh horse above the six originals. This has been done in comparatively recent years and the village people explain it as the prank of a country wag. The discovery of the

⁴李瑩⁵孫崇望⁶昭陵陸駿碑⁷游師雄⁸寶經堂⁹金石萃編¹⁰甯家村¹¹泚河¹²舊縣¹³大宋新修唐太宗廟碑¹⁴唐太宗昭陵圖¹⁵昭陵陸駿碑



ILLUSTRATION I

Tablet in commemoration of the Sung Dynasty Restoration, herein spoken of as the K'ai Pao tablet, A.D. 973.

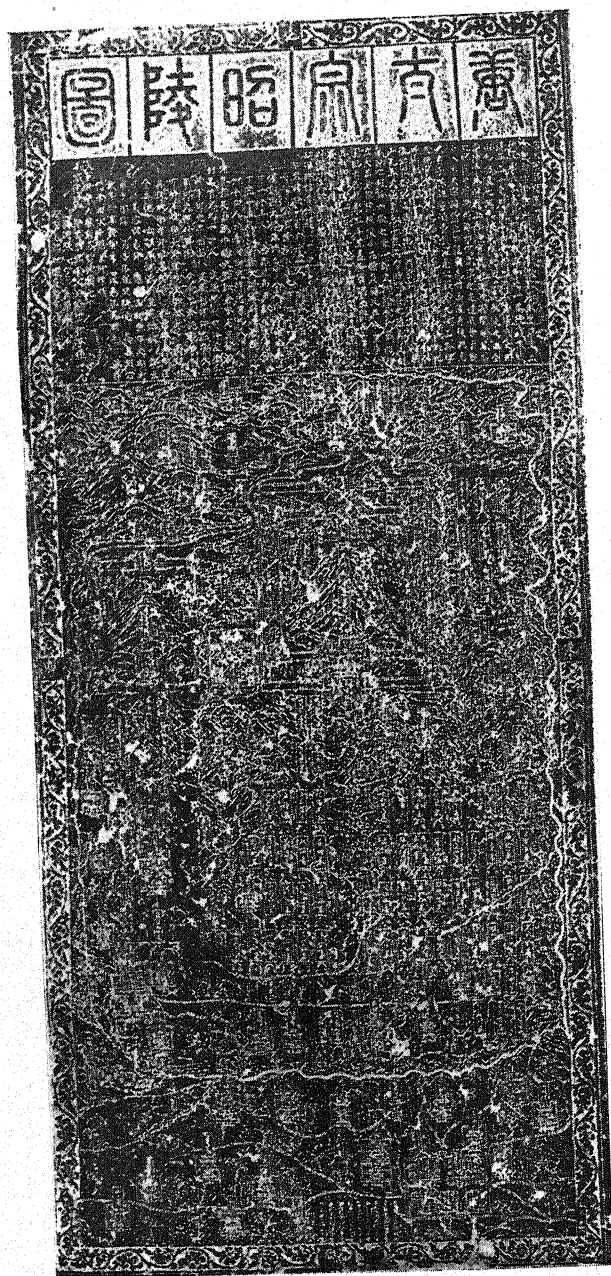


ILLUSTRATION II

Map of Chao Ling, A.D. 1094. Compare Map I.

location of these two tablets and the fact that both of them are still in a good state of preservation are the reasons which have led me to write this paper.

The first part of the text of the K'ai Pao tablet (A.D. 973) praises the meritorious achievements of the T'ang dynasty Emperor T'ai Tsung. In the middle of the text is the following passage:—

"Recently the Emperor in an audience said to the assembled Ministers:

'His great achievement was diffused among the common people for the brief space of one generation but it made him an associate of Heaven and Earth and has been handed down in reliable historic records which will remain for all ages as illuminating as the sun and moon. Great was the merit of the sagacious sovereigns of former dynasties! How is it possible to allow their burial places to be hidden by weeds or lost in millet fields. If a demonstration of respect is not undertaken, what will be left for later generations to behold?'

"As a result of this address, a plentiful supply of money was appropriated and skilled workmen were employed. The old tomb was opened so that robes and caps could be replaced, and a new temple was built for the offering of sacrifices at regular intervals."

At the end of the tablet there is a poem in which the construction of the temple and the restoration of garments to the tomb are mentioned.

These statements of the tablet led me to further search of the records of the Sung history and I found that:

(a) during the reign of the first Emperor known in history as T'ai Tsu in the first year of his first era called Chien Lung, i.e. A.D. 960, an edict was issued ordering district officials to appoint families as guardians of the tombs of the emperors and worthies of past dynasties and repair those which were in ruins;

(b) in the first year of his second era called Ch'ien Tê, i.e. A.D. 963, an edict was issued ordering that every three years the chief official of the district in which a tomb was located or his deputy should conduct a ceremony of sacrifice in which a bull should be offered in honor of the emperors of past dynasties and that appropriate sacrificial vessels should be prepared and sent to the various tombs and temples;

(c) in another edict of this era it was ordered that the tomb of the Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, along with those of Yao, Shun, Yü, and T'ang, should have five families as guardians and that in the spring and autumn of each year sacrifices of a bull should be offered (cf. Sung History, *chüan* 105, *Li Chih*);

(d) in the fourth year of the era Ch'ien Tê, A.D. 966, on the *kuei hai* day of the tenth moon, an edict was issued ordering the district officials to put in order (lit. set up) the tombs and memorial temples of the emperors of past dynasties which were to be guarded by the families duly appointed;

(e) in the third year of the era K'ai Pao, i.e. A.D. 970, an edict was issued in reference to the tombs of the three kings of the Chou dynasty, viz. Wên, Ch'êng and K'ang, that of Shih Huang of the Ch'in, those of seven emperors of the Han, viz. Kao, Wên, Ching, Wu, Yüan, Ch'êng and Ai, that of Hsiao Wên of the Later Wei, that

of Wên Ti of Western Wei, that of T'ai Tsu of the Later Chou, and those of thirteen emperors of the T'ang, *viz.* Kao Tsu, T'ai Tsung, Chung Tsung, Su Tsung, Tai Tsung, Tê, Shun, Wên, Wu, Hsüan, I, Hsi and Chao—a total number of twenty-seven located in the districts of Fêng-hsiang¹⁶, Hsiung¹⁷ and Yao¹⁸ which had been opened and pillaged, the officials of the said districts should in each instance prepare suits of official robes and of ordinary garments to be placed in a suitable coffin and buried in the tombs after which sacrifices should be offered;

(f) in the fourth year of the era K'ai Pao, *i.e.* A.D. 971, on the *hsin mao* day of the fourth moon one thousand men from the local soldiery were detailed for the work of repairing the tombs of the emperors of earlier dynasties (*cf.* Sung History, *chüan* 2, *pên chî*);

(g) in the sixth year of the era K'ai Pao, *i.e.* A.D. 973, the setting up of the tablet in commemoration of the completion of the work at the tomb of the Emperor T'ai Tsung, a translation of the significant portion of which is given in a preceding paragraph.

It is not necessary to discuss in this paper the events which led to the destruction of the other tombs mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. I need only refer to the pillaging of the tomb of T'ai Tsung. Fortunately for the purposes of this paper, this is described in the History of the Five Dynasties, Wu Tai Shih¹⁹, in the biography of Wên T'ao²⁰ (*cf.* *chüan* 40). During the struggles of Chu Wên²¹ to oust the last emperor of the T'ang dynasty and to establish himself as founder of the posterior Liang dynasty, commonly known as the Chu Liang²² dynasty, Wên T'ao changed his allegiance several times, but whether on one side or the other he had charge for seven years of the district in which the T'ang tombs were located. During that time he opened all the tombs and took away all their treasures. He stated that the Chao Ling (*i.e.* the tomb of T'ai Tsung) was the best constructed. He himself entered this tomb and found that the rooms were as large and spacious as those of a palace. In the centre was the main hall and in the side rooms to the east and west were stone benches over which were stone cabinets lined with iron in which were stored famous manuscripts. The writings of Chung Yu²³ and Wang Hsi-chih²⁴ looked as if they had been recently written, so fresh were the ink and paper. Wên T'ao took away all of these writings which thus became known to the scholars of that generation. There is no reference, however, in this biography to the stone figures of the six horses or of those of statesmen, but it can be taken for granted that they suffered the same fate as the tomb of T'ai Tsung.

This inference as to the destruction of the original stone horse figures is confirmed by the reference to them in the inscription on the above-mentioned Map of Chao Ling, dated 1094, on the reverse side of the K'ai Pao tablet. The reference states that "the figures (*hsing*²⁵) of barbarian chieftains were carved (*k'o*²⁶) and the shapes (*hsiang*²⁷) of the six horses were cut and polished (*cho*²⁸). These were meant to symbolize the military prowess of the Emperor. They were placed at the north gate." The terms *hsing* and *hsiang* which

¹⁶ 鳳翔
²² 鍾繇

¹⁷ 雄州
²⁴ 王羲之

¹⁸ 耀州
²⁵ 形

¹⁹ 五代史
²⁶ 刻

²⁰ 溫韜
²⁷ 像

²¹ 朱溫
²³ 朱梁
²⁸ 琢

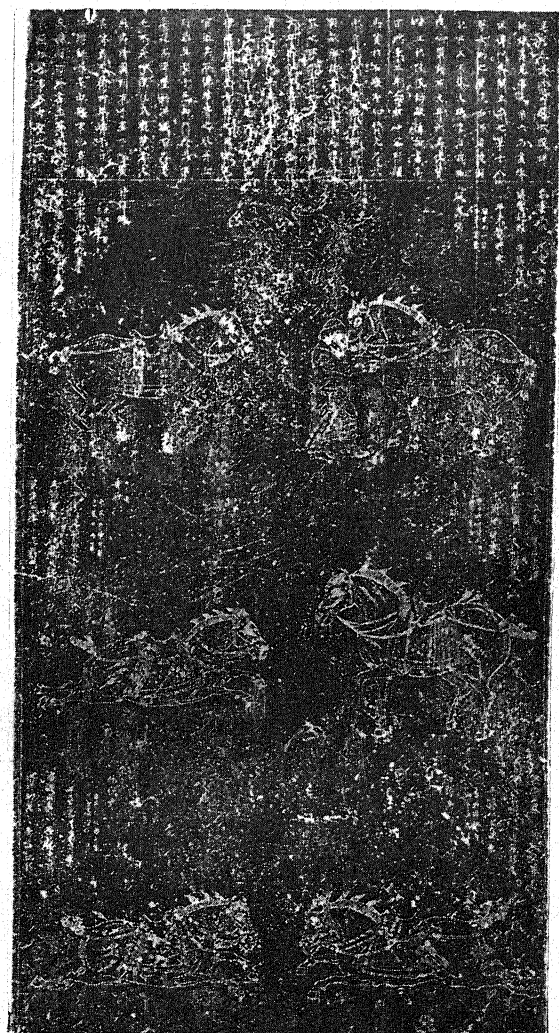


ILLUSTRATION III

Tablet of the Six Horses of the Chao Ling,
A.D. 1089.



ILLUSTRATION IV

Two annotations A.D. 1097—A.D. 1194 on the reverse side of the tablet of the Six Horses.

are used in apposition in this description both signify figures or forms which are images of the shapes of objects. They show clearly that the original carvings of the chieftains as well as of the horses were in *ronde-bosse*. These were destroyed by Wên T'ao. In the record of the restoration undertaken during the K'ai Pao period of the Sung dynasty I have found no reference to these carvings, but without doubt these tablets were made at this time as part of the restoration. They can therefore now be accurately dated as A.D. 973. The Official, Yu Shih-hsiung, who was responsible for the Map had at an earlier date erected at Li-ch'üan a tablet on which were engraved facsimiles of the six horses which were in the temple on the mountain site of the imperial tomb. His reason for erecting this tablet was to make it convenient for visitors to see these figures without the necessity of climbing the difficult path to the site on the mountain where the originals could be found. The Sung dynasty tablets remained in the restored temple until 1912.

It is certain that the first set of horses which are represented in the Map of Chao Ling (see Map I and Illustration II) as standing in two rows of three on the sides of the road leading in from the north gate were carved in *ronde-bosse* (*hsiang*). They had pedestals on which were to be carved the eulogistic verses composed by the emperor himself to be written by Ou-yang Hsün.²⁹ It seems that these verses as written by Ou-yang Hsün were never incised, for the emperor's successor Kao Tsung ordered one of his favorites Yin Chung-jung³⁰ to make a new transcription which was actually engraved on the pedestals. When the temple in memory of T'ai Tsung was restored in 973 the stone tablets which replaced the original horse figures had no pedestals and a place for the inscriptions was left on one of the upper corners of the tablet, but as far as we know the verses were never engraved and the spaces remained vacant. The existence of pedestals on the T'ang set and the substitution for them of empty spaces in the upper corners of the Sung set makes it certain that the destruction of Wên T'ao included the original stone figures.

References to them were made by Hsieh Ssü-ch'ang³¹ and Li Tsai³² in 1097, by Chao Ming-ch'eng³³ early in the 12th century, by Liu Chung-yu³⁴ in 1194, by Yang Shên³⁵ (1488-1529) and Chao Han³⁶ who visited the tomb in 1618, by Ku Ning-jên³⁷ (Ku T'ing-lin³⁸) in 1659, by Lin T'ung³⁹ in 1664, by Chang Ch'ao⁴⁰ in 1671 and by Pi Yüan⁴¹ in 1775. There was a disastrous fire in 1862 during the Hua Mên trouble⁴² and the buildings at Chao Ling were destroyed and the stone horses damaged, but the buildings were later replaced and the horse tablets put in position along the wall. When Chavannes visited the site in 1909 the rebuilt temple was more or less in ruins as may be seen from the photograph taken at the time. The temple has now entirely disappeared. In 1916 all six horses were sold to dealers but only two were successfully removed before the loss was discovered by the official in charge. The other four were later removed to the Provincial Library in Hsi-an where they may now be seen (see Illustration 5).

²⁹歐陽詢³⁰殷仲容³¹薛嗣昌³²李宰³³趙明誠³⁴劉仲游³⁵楊慎³⁶趙崡³⁷顧寧人³⁸顧亭林³⁹林侗⁴⁰張弼⁴¹畢沅⁴²花門之變

As to the rubbings, those reproduced by me in my previous paper were taken from the stones in the usual way in which large rubbings of uneven surfaces are always made as far as my experience goes. The technique is different from that used in making rubbings of flat surfaces and during the process the surface of the paper is always torn. When this torn paper is backed and mounted it gives a distorted view as compared with a photograph. There is also another process, that of making an engraving on wood from which prints are taken, but it is not difficult for an experienced person to distinguish between rubbings and prints. Instances of rubbings taken from flat surfaces may be seen in the first four illustrations of this paper.

There is also another set of rubbings which have come on the market in recent years. These are made by the Pao Ching T'ang,⁴³ a shop in the Pei Lin⁴⁴ at Hsi-an which sells rubbings. This shop is owned by the Hsia⁴⁵ brothers and the name of the elder brother is Hsia Tzū-hsin.⁴⁶ He has the reputation of being expert in making rubbings. In their shop are six stone tablets measuring two feet by eighteen inches on which the horses with their respective eulogistic verses have been reproduced by this shop. There is a seventh stone on which is incised the comment of one Sung Po-lu.⁴⁷ I have mounted these together on one sheet (see Illustration 6).

As far as I know, all available sources of information have now been studied and the result is that the date of the tablets of the Six Horses which are now extant—two in the Philadelphia Museum and four in the Provincial Library, Hsi-an, may be fixed definitely as A.D. 973. They are products of the Sung and not of the T'ang dynasty. When I wrote my previous paper I did not have the information needed for this purpose, but now that it has come to hand it is possible to fix the time of their production.

SUMMARY OF DATES.

A.D.

636 Death of Empress Wên Tê and burial at rear of Chiu Tsung hill.
637 Edict ordering construction of Emperor's tomb at Chiu Tsung hill.

637-649 Erection of stone figures of statesmen and the six horses.
Writing of eulogistic verses by Ou-yang Hsün.

649 Death of Emperor T'ai Tsung and burial at Chiu Tsung hill which became known as Chao Ling.

669 Emperor Kao Tsung ordered Yin Chung-jung to copy eulogistic verses.

915-923 Destruction of tomb by Wên T'ao.

960 Edict of Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu appointing guardians of the tombs of preceding emperors.

963 Edict ordering sacrifices at these tombs.

966 Edict ordering the repair of these tombs.

971 Edict ordering one thousand men to help in this work.

973 Erection of K'ai Pao tablet in commemoration of the reconstruction of the temple in honor of T'ai Tsung in which the stone tablets of the six horses were placed.

⁴³寶經堂 ⁴⁴碑林 ⁴⁵夏 ⁴⁶夏子辛 ⁴⁷宋伯魯

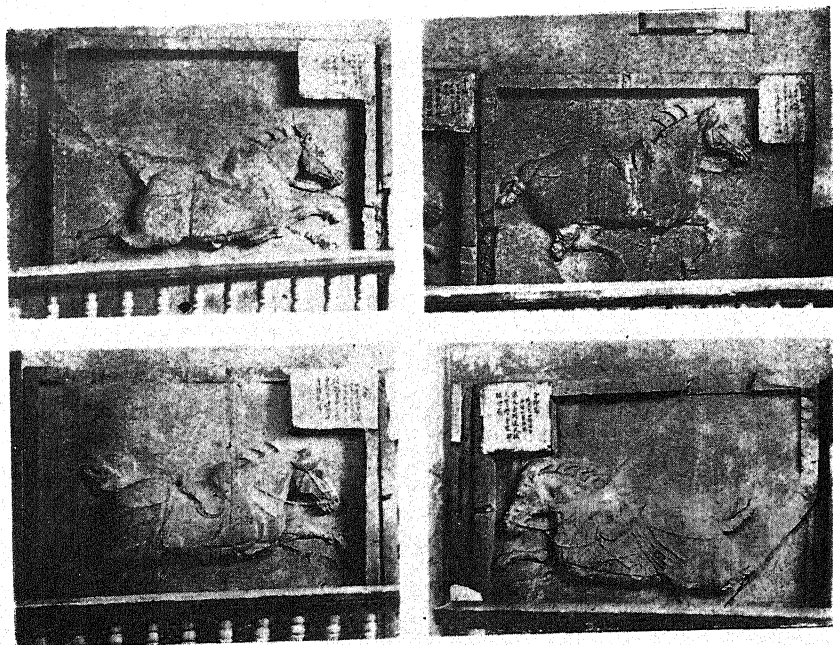


ILLUSTRATION V

Four tablets of four horses in Provincial Library, Hsi-an, photographed together. Labels on corner are written on paper and pasted on tablets.

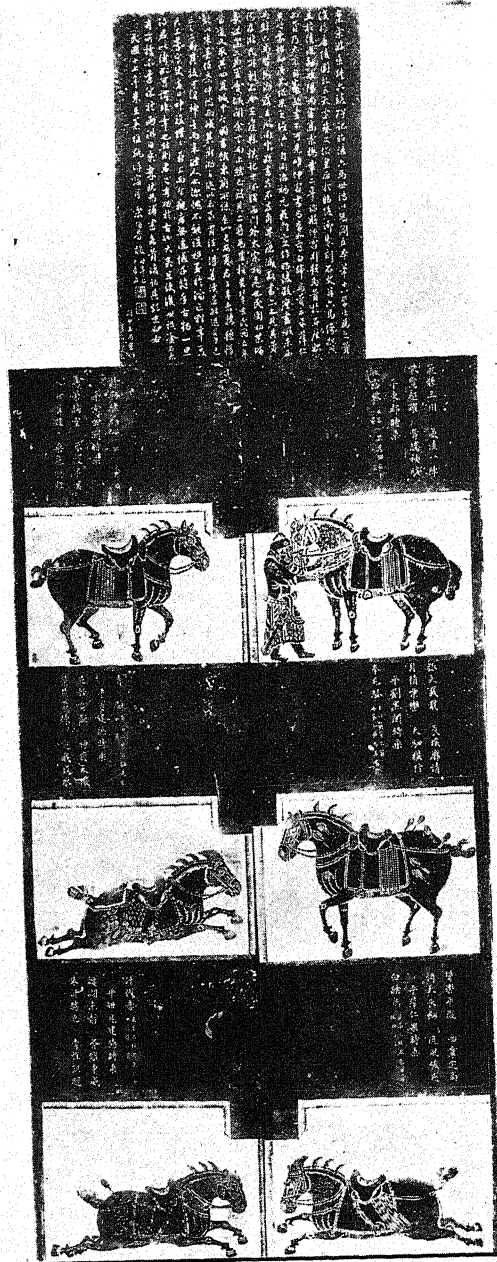


ILLUSTRATION VI

Seven Pao Ching T'ang stone tablets photographed together for comparison with Illustration III.

T'AI CHI SHANG YUAN. (太極上元)
THE CHINESE ASTROLOGICAL THEORY
OF CREATION.¹

By Herbert Chatley, D. Sc. (London), A. Inst. P.

The writer's purpose is to describe in some detail the attempt that was made in China just before the Christian Era to reduce the phenomena of astronomy to a set of simple arithmetical rules, on which calendarization could be based and from which the history of man and the processes of the whole world from Creation to Dissolution could be computed.

The principle of such an ambitious scheme had been developed in Babylonia and Greece some five hundred years earlier with various results. (See Appendix I and also "Cycles of Cathay," N.C.B.R.A.S. 1934). Its sudden appearance in China was either an echo due to diffusion of ideas or a most remarkable coincidence. The latter is very improbable, particularly as similar notions first appear in India about the same time as in China.

The numerical agreement with the results in the West is so incomplete that the writer is obliged to think that the idea was transmitted with perhaps but few figures.

The names of Liu Hsiang and his son Liu Hsin are associated with this scheme but they owe something to an earlier student Tsou Yen (3rd century B.C.) and to the unknown writer of the 3rd appendix to the Book of Changes, popularly supposed to be Confucius.²

The Lius were occupied in the redaction of the text of the Book of Changes, as well as other classics, and arising out of this were led to apply the mystical theory of numbers to astronomy. Here there is a marked parallel with the ideas of Pythagoras, who was almost contemporary with Confucius. By making small adjustments to the approximately observed values it was thought that the motions in right ascension of the Sun, Moon and planets with regard to the

¹ From the lecture given by Dr. Chatley before the Society in Wu Lien Teh Hall, on March 19th, 1936.—*Editor*.

² Ssu-ma Ch'ien in his *Shih Chi* refers to world periods of 1500 and 4500 years.

Winter solstice point (which was supposed to be fixed in the constellation Tou, 斗, part of the Chaldeo-Graecian constellation Sagittarius) would be reconciled with the mystical numbers of the appendix to the Book of Changes and provide a calculus for the universe.

Particular importance was attached to 81, the square of nine. For some time it had been known that there were 235 moons of about $29\frac{1}{2}$ days in 19 Solar years of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days and it was assumed that the moon was $29\frac{43}{81}$ days which is nearly (but not quite) correct. This figure was probably obtained by eclipse times. A "moon" is not constant, and this is quite a good estimate. The 19 year rule was believed to be *quite* correct (it is not so) and so the length of the year was found to be $365\frac{385}{1539}$ days, a figure differing only very slightly from $365\frac{1}{4}$ ($\frac{1}{4} = \frac{385}{1540}$). Hence in 1539 years there is an exact number of days. One-third this period is 47 times an observed eclipse period of 135 moons, and three times this period (4617 years) contains a round number of sixty day cycles.

The planets were then brought in by an analogous system in which an exact number of conjunctions were considered to occur in 1728 years or fairly simple multiples of that number, so that in 138,240 years all would (so it was thought) repeat their motions exactly. Combining this with the 4617 year period for the motions of the Sun and Moon, a grand inclusive period of 23,639,040 years was found to be the world cycle.

The next problem was to find when this began and calculation seemed to show that it was in 143,231 Julian years B.C. The end of the world (to be followed by a new creation) would then be due in 23,495,809 A.D. [See Appendix II.]

The hypothesis underlying this was that of the Yin-yang Five Elements theory which had been deduced (by Tsou Yen?) from the Book of Changes. In the beginning the Great Limit had produced Two Principles, which correspond to the Sun and Moon. The Two had become Five Elements (corresponding to the Planets), the five by interactions became the Myriad (corresponding to the stars). Assuming, as all the ancients did, that the heavens and the Earth were correlated, it was quite natural to suppose that when Sun, Moon and Planets were all conjoined exactly in the same place in the sky, *that* was the beginning of all things and when it recurred *that* would be the end. For over 1200 years this theory dominated Chinese astronomy and repeated adjustments and corrections were made, until it was abandoned by Kuo Shou-ching in the 13th century.

Details of the Western or Former Han system due to Liu Hsin and the Eastern or Later Han system due to Li Fan are given in the Appendix II. These particulars have been digested by the speaker from the *Lü Li Chih* sections of the Han histories. A previous but incomplete outline of these two systems was given by Father Gaubil in his "Sketch of the History of Chinese Astronomy" in Souciet's "Observations Mathematiques" (Vols. II & III) (1723). This is now a very rare book. Thomas Fergusson, quoting from Gaubil, supplies some rather ill digested data in his "Chinese Chronology and Cycles" (Shanghai Am. Presbyt. Miss. Press. 1880), and his book is also rare. The present writer's paper (1934) "The Cycles of Cathay"

refers to the main figures but he was not then aware of the planetary calculations and the grand period of Liu Hsin which has not been published before. The writer is much indebted to Prof. Shinzo Shinjo for pointing out that the year of Liu Hsin consisted of 365^{385}_{1539} days, which is a fundamental conception. The translation of the *Lü Lih Chih* is something like solving a crossword puzzle!

(A brief sketch of the History of Chinese Astronomy is attached in Appendix III.)

The fundamental error in the ancient calculations is the assumption that the celestial periods must be commensurate, i.e. that for any one planetary or celestial motion there must be a certain *exact* number of revolutions which is equal to an *exact* number of tropical years (or in some later cases, sidereal years). In actual fact, while there are several good approximations with rather low numbers and with some very large numbers there are extremely good approximations, in no case is the equivalence exact and the error, however small, accumulates by repetition. It is a most important feature of cyclic theory that in order that two cycles shall be causally related, the *mean* periodic times of each must be *exactly* equal, or be in exact simple ratio. The only important case in astronomy where this occurs is in the rotation of the moon and its periodic revolution about the earth which causes the same face always to be presented to the earth. If there were the slightest difference in the mean periods the other side of the moon would gradually come into view.

Furthermore research has shown that the periodic times of the various bodies gradually change. The Han figures are also affected by the then unobserved precession of the equinoxes and the T'ang astronomers (e.g. Chang I-Hsing) as well as the Indians endeavoured to adjust the figures for this and other necessary corrections, but without real success.

The root idea of trying to find a cosmical era of creation at which all the bodies merged into one has considerable appeal and is analogous to the Laplace theory. Since the abandonment of the Geocentric theory it is however seen to be futile, as conjunction is only apparent and not real. Furthermore the positions of the planetary "nodes" are such that, even if all the planets concurred in longitude they could not do so in latitude so that a general and exact geocentric conjunction is impossible.

APPENDIX I

Plato ("Timaios", T. TAYLOR'S TRANSLATION)

(After reference to the month and the year determined by the motions of the sun and the moon.)

... "but as to the periods of the other stars, they are not understood except by a few of mankind, nor do the multitude distinguish them by any peculiar appellation; nor do they measure them with relation to each other regarding the numbers adapted to this purpose. Hence it may be said that they are ignorant that the wander-

ings of these bodies are in reality time; as these wanderings are endowed with an infinite multitude and an admirable variety of motions. But it is easy to conceive that a perfect number of time will then accomplish a perfect year, when the eight circulations, concurring in their courses with each other, become bounded by the same extremity; being at the same time measured by the circle subsisting according to sameness".

(NOTE.—The eight circulations allude to the daily rotation of the stellar vault and the Seven planetary motions. The first is said to be one of sameness, the Seven of difference. This is quite clearly explained in an earlier paragraph of the Timaios).

Plato lived 428-348 B.C. Timaios into whose mouth these words are placed by Plato is reputed to have lived 580-504 B.C.

Seneca (Quaestiones Naturales)

BOOK III, CAP. XXIX. (CLARKES' TRANSLATION)

"Berosus, the translator of (the records) of Belus affirms that the whole issue is brought about by the course of the planets. So positive is he on the point that he assigns a definite date both for the conflagration and the deluge. All that the earth inherits, will, he assures us, be consigned to flame when the planets, which now move in different orbits, all assemble in Cancer, so arranged in one row that a straight line may pass through their spheres. When the same gathering takes place in Capricorn, then we are in danger of the deluge."

Schnabel (*Berosos und die Babylonische Hellenistische Literatur*—Leipzig 1923) gives the period as 2,160,000 years of which 2,112,000 were prior to the flood. The grand conflagration is to occur 12,000 years after the death of Alexander the Great.

Macrobius (In Somni. Scipi. LIB. II)

"The end therefore, of the mundane year is when all the planets and all the fixed stars have returned to a certain place, so that no star in the heaven may be situated in a place different from that in which it was before, since all the other stars, when moved from that place to which they return, give a termination to their year; so that the luminaries (sun and moon) also, together with the five wandering stars may be in the same places and parts where they were situated when the mundane year began."

Censorinus (De Die Natale)

"There is also a year which Aristotle calls Perfect, rather than Great, which is formed by the revolution of the Sun, of the Moon and of the five planets, when they all come at the same time to the celestial point from which they started together. This year has a great winter . . . it has also a summer. The world is supposed to have been by terms deluged or on fire at each of these epochs."

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- (*Great Year, Deluge and Destruction of the World*)
- Aristotle (Meteorologica I. 14)
 Plato (Timaios)
 Proclus (Comment. in Timaios)
 Apulæus (Dogm. Platon)
 Achilles Tatius (Proleg. in Arat. c. 18)
 Plutarch (de placit. philos. II. 32)
 Josephus (Antiq. I. 4)
 Tacitus (Dialog. de orator. c. 16)
 Solinus (c. 33 & 36)
 Photius (Biblioth. p. 714)
 Stobæus (Eclog. phys. I. ii)
 Cicero (De Natura Deorum II et ap. Tac. de Caus. Err. 16)
 Julius Firmicus (Matheseos. in præfat, et III. i)
 Festus (XI.)
 Macrobius (In somni. Scip. II. 10, 11)
 Clement Alexandrinus (Strom. 5)
 Arnobe (Adversus gent. I.)
 Minutius Felix (Octavius)
 Diogenes Laertius (in vita Zenonis)
 Seneca (Quæst. Nat. III. 27-29)
 Ovid (Metam. I)
 Augustin (De Civit. Dei, XII, 10)
 Censorinus (De Die Natale, Cap VII)
 Pliny (Lib. II. Cap VIII; Lib. X. Cap II)
 Sextus Empiricus (Adv. Mathem. i. 105)
 Horapollon (ii. 57)
 Ptolemy (Tetrabiblos. i. 2.)
 Olympiodorus (Scholia in Georg. Plato.)

APPENDIX II.

San T'ung Li (三統曆)

PRINCIPAL ASTRONOMICAL AND CYCLIC DATA FROM THE
 CH' IEN HAN SHU, XXI, *Lü Li Chih* (律曆志).

(PAN KU 班固, ABOUT A.D. 50).

One tropical year = $365\frac{385}{1539}$ solar days.

One synodical month (lunation or "moon") = $29\frac{43}{81}$ days.

$12\frac{7}{19}$ moons = 1 tropical year.

235 moons = 19 tropical years = 1 Chang 章 = $6939\frac{61}{81}$ days = 254 "tropical months".

135 moons = 1 eclipse period = $3986\frac{2}{3}$ days.

513 tropical year = 27 Chang = 47 eclipse periods = 1 Hui 會
 = $187,373\frac{1}{2}$ days or 2,248,480 double-hours exactly.

3 Hui = 1539 tropical years = 81 Chang = 141 eclipse periods = 1
 T'ung 統 = 562,120 days exactly.

3 T'ung = 4617 tropical years = 243 Chang = 423 eclipse periods
 = 1 Yuan 元 = 1,686,360 days exactly = 28,106 sixty day cycles.

Jupiter makes 1,583 synodical revolutions in 1,728 years

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|--------|---|---|---|--------|---|------------------------------|
| Venus | 2,161 | " | " | " | 3,456 | " | = 1728×2 |
| Saturn | 4,175 | " | " | " | 4,320 | " | = $1728 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Mars | 6,469 | " | " | " | 13,824 | " | = 1728×8 |
| Mercury | 29,041 | " | " | " | 9,216 | " | = $1728 \times 5\frac{1}{3}$ |

In 138,240 years (L. C. M. of the above numbers of years) all the 5 planets would return to their same relative positions.

In 23,639,040 years (L. C. M. of 138,240 & 4,617) = 5,120 Yuans = $171 \times 138,240$ years = $2,052 \times 11,520$ years, all the motions of the sun, moon and planets with respect to the stars would be exactly repeated and all things would be renewed.

The synodical periods in days are as follows:

| | <i>Ch'ien Han</i> | <i>True Value</i> | <i>Error (days)</i> |
|---------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Moon | 29.53086 | 29.53059 | +0.00027 |
| Jupiter | 398.71 | 398.88 | -0.17 |
| Venus | 584.13 | 583.92 | +0.21 |
| Saturn | 377.93 | 378.09 | -0.16 |
| Mars | 780.53 | 779.94 | +0.59 |
| Mercury | 115.92 | 115.88 | +0.04 |

It should be observed that there is no relation of the ordinary maximum unit, the Yuan, to the 60 *year* cycle, which agrees with the view that this method although referred to by Ssü-ma Ch'ien was not generally employed until the time of Wang Mang in the first century A.D.

The eclipse period of 135 moons is a fair approximation to $146\frac{1}{2}$ nodical months. Its triple value, 405 moons, is a more useful cycle in actual fact.

The epoch (上元) of the Ch'ien Han system is 31 Yuans prior to the T'ai Ch'u (太初) period of 104 B.C., i.e., 143,231 Julian years B.C., computed from the positions of the planets in 104 B.C.

Ssü Fên Li (四分曆)

PRINCIPAL ASTRONOMICAL AND CYCLIC DATA FROM THE

HOU HAN SHU. APPENDIX, *Lü Li Chih*

(SSÜ-MA P'IAO 司馬彪, ABOUT A.D. 300)

One tropical year = $365\frac{1}{4}$ solar days.

One synodical month ("moon") = $29\frac{49}{940}$ days.

$12\frac{7}{19}$ moons = 1 tropical year.

235 moons = 19 tropical years = 1 chang 章.

135 moons = 1 eclipse period with 23 eclipses (i.e., visible?)

4 chang = 1 Pu (蔀) = 76 years = 27,759 days exactly.

513 years = 1 Hui = 27 chang = 47 eclipse periods = $187,373\frac{1}{4}$ days or 2,248,479 double hours exactly.

(Note difference of one double-hour from the Ch'ien Han values.)

20 Pu = 1 Chi (紀) = 1520 years = 19×80 years.

(80 years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days = 29,220 days = 487 sixty day cycles.)

3 Chi = 1 Yuan (元) = 4560 years = 76 sixty *year* cycles.

(9 Yuans = 80 Hui = 3560 eclipse periods = 41040 years.)

(Note the difference in the Yuan of 57 years from the Ch'ien Han value.)

| | | | | |
|---|---|--------|---|----------|
| Jupiter makes 4327 conjunctions in 4725 years | | | | |
| Mars | „ | 879 | „ | „ 1876 „ |
| Saturn | „ | 9096 | „ | „ 9415 „ |
| Venus | „ | 5830* | „ | „ 4661 „ |
| Mercury | „ | 11908* | „ | „ 1889 „ |

* Both inferior and superior conjunctions.

The L.C.M. of the above year periods is a very large number and is not referred to, but at an earlier date apparently the Ch'ien Han major period was combined with the new (Ssü Fên system), giving a period of 2,626,560 years or 576 Yuan of 4560 years, which is the L.C.M. of 138,240 (the Ch'ien Han planetary period) and 4560, the Hou Han value for the Yuan.

This period is one-ninth of the Ch'ien Han world period.

The Synodical periods in days are as follows:—

| | <i>Hou Han</i> | <i>True value</i> | <i>Error (days)</i> |
|---------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Moon | 29.53083 | 29.53059 | + 0.00024 |
| Jupiter | 398.85 | 398.88 | — 0.03 |
| Mars | 779.53 | 779.94 | — 0.41 |
| Saturn | 378.06 | 378.09 | — 0.03 |
| Venus | 584.29 | 583.92 | + 0.38 |
| Mercury | 115.88 | 115.88 less than | 0.01 |

The epoch of the Ssü Fên or Hou Han system is stated in the Ch'ien Han Shu to be 29 Yuan and 1 Chi (133,760 years) prior to the T'ai Ch'u basic date of 104 B.C.=133,864 B.C. but, in the Hou Han Shu, it is stated as 605 Yuan and 1 Chi prior to that date, which is 576 Yuan more or one celestial period as given above added to the figure referred to by the Ch'ien Han compiler. This figure must have been arrived at before the planetary periods were revised. The details as to retrogression and position of the planets are much improved in the Hou Han descriptions.

APPENDIX III

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF CHINESE ASTRONOMY

In China astronomy has played a large part. According to a doubtful tradition the early ruler Yao laid down calendrical rules based on solar elevations and the positions of four stars at the quarter days of the solar year. Still less reliable traditions speak of calendrical work by Huang Ti and Chüan Hsü. Much controversy has raged about the genuineness and significance of the Yao tradition, of which the actual record only dates from the time of Confucius, some 1500 years later. In the Shang dynasty, ending in the 11th century, the oracle bones show reckonings by moons and the 60 day cycle.

At the beginning of the Chou dynasty in the 11th century B.C. a calendar reform was made and the practice established of observing the Sun's shadow by a vertical pole. The use of the "clepsydra" or water clock seems to have started then. From the 8th century B.C. onward there is a fairly complete record of Eclipses. In about the 4th century (the Warring Kingdoms period) much greater accuracy

in the astronomical data appears, including fairly correct insertion of intercalary moons to keep the lunar calendar in step with the solar seasons. Star lists were also made and simple observations of the 5 planets are recorded. About the same time a mystical theory of numbers developed from the Book of Changes was combined with astronomy by Tsou Yen. This theory was attributed back to Chou Kung. In the third century occurred the famous burning of the books by the "First Emperor" to which later historians have attributed the loss of the old science. There does not appear to be any reason to suppose that the old science was really as advanced as is suggested. In the Han dynasty great advances were made by Ssü-ma Ch'ien, Lo Hsia-hung, Liu Hsin and Li Fan and in actual fact all the older astronomy of China effectively starts at this time. It was much in arrear of the contemporaneous Greek knowledge derived from the Babylonians. How far information seeped in from the West at this time is doubtful. The writer is of opinion that *ideas* but not figures were transmitted and the Chinese observers should have credit for the latter at least.

Instruments from this early period have not survived, but it is probable that they were simpler predecessors of the Mongol types developed by Kou Shou-ching. At this time prodigious efforts were made to find a period in which all things would be repeated and the conclusion was come to by Liu Hsin that the Shang Yuan or Epoch of Creation occurred at a date corresponding to 143,231 B.C. and that all things would come to an end in 23,639,040 years after that date and would then be renewed again and so on.

All this was combined with calendar reform and for some 1200 years the effort was continually renewed. Li Fan in the later Han dynasty made some practical reforms and a well known book the "Chou Pei" partly dates back to this time. The Han histories contain much detail as to the planets and the lunar motions.

In the T'ang dynasty, chiefly owing to a Buddhist monk named Chang I-Hsing, some advance was made, particularly in regard to the shift of the tropic points among the stars and the fixing of stellar positions.

Great reforms were made in the Mongol dynasty by Kuo Shou-ching who made new instruments, some of which still exist, and utilized the work of the Arabian astronomers of Baghdad.

Finally at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty the Jesuits introduced European methods and instruments and Chinese astronomy was brought gradually into line with that of the rest of the world.

[The only fairly complete History is that of Gaubil which is in four parts and only to be found in very comprehensive libraries. The early part (published in the famous "Lettres Edifiantes") is very orthodox from a Sinological point of view. The second part, included in the second and third volumes of Souciet's "Observations Mathematiques" (1732) covers the period from the Han to the Yuan dynasty. The third part is a supplement to this. The fourth part covers the period from the Yuan up to Gaubil's time.

Good abstracts of Gaubil are to be found in Lalande's "Astronomie", Vol. I, and Bailly's "Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne" (1775). A complete and revised version of Gaubil would be of great interest.]

THE INSCRIBED BONES OF SHANG¹

By. H. E. GIBSON

The Inscribed bones of the Shang Period (B.C. 1766-1155) commonly referred to as the Oracle Bones or the Honan Bones are a comparatively recent discovery. For some unknown reason they did not come to the attention of Chinese scholars until after the Rev. F. H. Chalfant and the Rev. Samuel Couling secured a small collection during 1900 from a dealer at Wei Hsien, Honan. These two sinologists made a study of the inscriptions on the bone fragments in their possession, which were identified as the Oracle Bones of the Shang Period. Credit is due both of these learned gentlemen for their having made one of the most important archaeological discoveries of China.

After the Boxer trouble had subsided, Chalfant started collecting large numbers of the inscribed tortoise shell and bones. These were later distributed in various museums. The first museum to acquire and exhibit a collection was the Shanghai Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch. This collection is on display in the Archaeological Section on the third floor of our Museum. Later on, The Royal Scottish Museum, The Carnegie Museum, The British Museum, The Field Museum, also acquired collections from Chalfant. Other museums and private collectors secured collections from various other sources. There are at the present time numerous large private collections in both China as well as Japan. Unfortunately no reproductions have been published of the majority of these collections which therefore cannot be studied by those interested in the inscriptions.

Apparently the early Chinese collectors acquired their collections through dealers, as did Chalfant and Couling. The exact location from which the dealers were securing their specimens appears to have been a well kept secret and not generally known until the early spring of 1914 when discovered by the Rev. James Mellon Menzies. He describes his discovery in the preface of the "Waste of Yin", which I briefly quote. "In the early spring of 1914 I was riding my horse along the south bank of the Yuan River (洹水) to the north of Chang-te, Honan. The ground had just been harrowed for cotton

¹ From the lecture given by Mr. Gibson before the Society in Wu Lien Teh Hall, on April 2nd, 1936.—*Editor*.

planting, and the farmers had thrown the plowed up potsherds and rubble to the edge of the fields. A number of these attracted my attention. The country children noticing my interest asked if I was pleased with bones". The bones the children gathered from the newly plowed fields proved to be inscribed bones of the same nature as Chalfant and Couling had first secured from the Wei Hsien dealer some 14 years prior. The site of Menzies' discovery proved to be that of one of the last capitals of ancient Shang.

During the year of 1928, on the same location, the Academia Sinica began extensive excavations on modern lines. Their efforts were rewarded by the uncovering from yellow loess of a vast collection of inscribed bones as well as of various objects and utensils belonging to the early Shang civilization. Four very interesting illustrated reports edited by Mr. Li Chi covering the excavations have been published in Chinese by the Society. They are worth perusal by those interested, especially as they describe the first large scale archaeological excavations to have been scientifically carried out in China under more or less governmental supervision.

The site where the excavations took place is known as Hsiao Tun, a few miles from An Yang, which before the foundation of the Republic was called Chang Teh Fu. The location has for many centuries been known as an ancient site and was mentioned as Yin Hsü (殷虛) "the Waste of Yin" at least as early as the 2nd century A.D. It is recorded that during the Sung Period ancient bronzes were found on the site. It is now proven to be the location of the Shang capital which was destroyed by a flood from the Yellow River about 1100 B.C. The excavations at Hsiao Tun have provided material, due to the scientific way in which they were executed, which has already cleared up many doubtful points in connection with ancient Chinese history. It has proven beyond doubt that the Shang were bronze using people; that they had a high state of culture and that the written language of China probably originated long prior to their time and that the much doubted Hsia Kingdom probably did exist. The excavations have uncovered abundance of material for those interested in solving considerable of China's ancient history, the customs of the people as well as their early civilization.

It is quite reasonable to assume that the Inscribed bones of Shang are not restricted to the An Yang site. In fact some have been located in other parts of North Honan and very near to the Shansi border. The people of Shang are recorded as having originated in what is known as the Shang Chou District of Eastern Shensi. At a very early period they began an eastern migration that took them through modern Shansi and Western Honan. Divination by use of the tortoise shell and bones very probably existed long before the Shang migration reached the An Yang site. It is therefore quite reasonable to look forward to further important finds of inscribed bones along their route of migration or at other of their capitals that up to the present time have not been located.

For three thousand or more years the yellow loess in the vicinity of An Yang has kept undisturbed a valuable heritage to China consisting of large quantities of inscribed tortoiseshell, bones and other objects and utensils belonging to the archaic Shang civilization. The pictographic signs on the tortoise shell and bones throw new



































































light on this early Chinese civilization. The pictographs on the tortoise shell and bones are most valuable in research covering the evolution of the Chinese written language. Very many of the crude though at times artistic pictographs are not far different from the modern Chinese character. The inscriptions on the shell and bones uncovered at the Anyang site do not show the earliest form of Chinese writing. It must have originated at a very much earlier period. The art of writing must have antedated these inscriptions by many hundreds if not thousands of years. It is clearly evident from the An Yang inscriptions that earlier pictographs had already gone through an evolution which had more or less conventionalized them into symbols with little or no resemblance to their original pictographs. The crude pictograph had gradually given way to a shorter and more convenient method. If we follow through the characters found on the Shang bones and compare them with those found on the Chou Bronzes we will notice a gradual evolution into less complicated forms. If we follow on through the various forms of writing until the time Shu published his Shuo Wên Dictionary (about A.D. 110) we will find still more development but not so much in most instances where all trace of the original pictograph is entirely lost. As a matter of fact some of the modern present day Chinese characters are almost exact duplicates of the early Shang forms.

After Chalfant and Couling had made their discovery of the Inscribed Bones eminent Chinese scholars began to take interest in the subject. They acquired large collections and began exhaustive study of the inscriptions with the view of identifying them. In some instances this was not difficult to the scholar well versed in the Bronze Inscriptions and who well knew his Shuo Wên. But on a whole it was a long and irksome task that to this day has not been more than one tenth completed. Among the foremost Chinese scholars who undertook this work were Wang Kuo-wei (王國維) and Lo Chên-yü (羅振玉). They began by working back from the Shuo Wên (說文) characters through the Ku Wen (古文), the Chou Wen (籀文), the characters on the Stone Drums, those on the Chou Bronzes and on the fragments of archaic pottery. If this order be reversed we may clearly follow the evolution of many Chinese characters beginning with those found on the Shang bones up to the modern form. Some of the more simple forms show very slight change but on the other hand scholars from the Chou period on have mistook or misunderstood the original make up of early pictographic forms and there is frequent corruption. However, in many instances the modern characters on the whole retain much of their original construction as will be seen by Plate I.

PLATE I

馬 Ma, Horse.

The original Shang character for horse was a true pictograph of the animal as shown by examples one to three. As time advanced a slightly curved line was used to represent the body and to which was added the head, three strokes on the back to represent the mane, two or more strokes on the underside to represent the

| Examples-Evolution of Chinese Characters | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ma Horse |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Yu Fish |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Chui Bird |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Chia Home |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ta Great |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| T'ien Heaven |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

legs and two small strokes at the end to represent the tail. This principle was continued in the Chou and Shuo Wên forms. The modern character has been slightly corrupted and the tail is represented by the four small strokes used for fire.

魚 Yü, Fish.

The Shang character for fish like that representing the horse is a true pictograph which during the Chou period was elaborated upon. The Shuo Wên form was somewhat simplified but is still more or less a pictograph depicting the head, scaled body and tail. In the modern character the same idea is followed and as in horse the four small strokes used for fire represent the tail.

隹 Chui, Bird.

This form represents the short-tailed bird. The Shang forms as will be noticed had become more or less conventionalized. There was slow evolution into the modern more or less square form.

家 Chia, Home.

The Shang form depicts a pig under a roof. To own pigs probably meant the substance of the family. There has been very little change in this form and the modern character retains the original meaning.

大 Ta, Great.

The Shang form pictured a standing human figure. There has been practically no change in this character. The original meaning was pro-

bably an adult man, thus considered large or great.

天 T'ien, Heaven. The modern character for heaven consists of one stroke representing "above" in combination with the Shang form one or two strokes above or a square with the standing figure below.

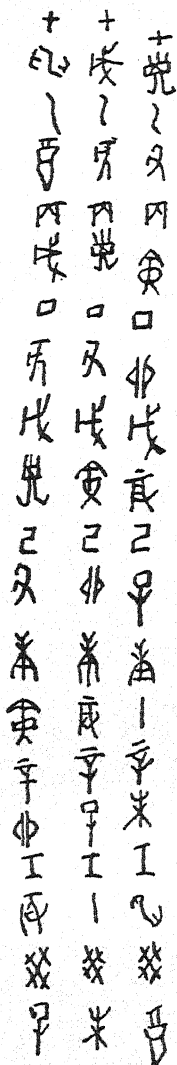


PLATE II

It may be incorrect to term all of the Shang inscribed bones as Oracle Bones. The majority of the bones or tortoise shell so far discovered undoubtedly pertain to divination. There are some,

though, that appear to be chronological records recording dates according to the cycle. Plate II is a reproduction of one of these examples from the British Museum collection. The inscription is a record of time by use of the cyclical signs. The right hand line begins with Chia Tsu (甲子) and down in the correct order of the ten stems to Kwei Yu (癸酉). The middle line begins with Chia Hsü (甲戌) and ends with Kwei Wei (癸未). The third line begins with Chia Shen (甲申) and ends with Kwei Ssü (癸巳). There is nothing whatsoever on the bone to show that the oracle was consulted. It would appear that the inscription is a record of time covering three Hsün (旬).

Plate III.



























| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 商 Shang |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| | S. | S. | S. | S. | S. | S. | S. | C.B. | C.B. | C.B. | K.W. | K.W. | S.W. |
| 周 Chou |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| | S. | S. | S. | S. | S. | S. | S. | C.B. | C.B. | C.B. | K.W. | K.W. | S.W. |

PLATE III

Chinese historians inform us that the Capital of Shang was moved on five occasions; that in 1401 B.C. it was fixed at Yin, whence the dynasty received its second name, The Yin Dynasty. If the Han historians have been truthful we should have thought that the name Yin would have appeared on the oracle bones, as the site of Yin was the ancient capital (An Yang site) destroyed by flood during 1100 B.C., and where most of the Inscribed Bones of Shang have been found. As a matter of fact the name Yin does not appear on the bones. On the other hand Shang (商) and the State of Chou (周) are fairly common.

Plate IV



























| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 風 Feng Wind |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 雨 YU Rain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

PLATE IV

According to Chinese early writers the male phoenix was the king of birds: it has a hen's head, a man's eye, a serpent's neck, a locust's viscera, a swallow's brow and a tortoise's back. This divine bird was supposed to be the product of the sun or fire, hence it is often pictured gazing at a ball of fire.

According to Chinese historians its first appearance was in the reign of Huang Ti, some 2600 years B.C. It again is said to have appeared in the time of Yao 2350 B.C. It is not, though, until the Han dynasty that we hear of worship being paid to it.

This mythical bird is probably the invention of Han writers. The character Feng (鳳) does not appear on the Chou bronzes. On

the Inscribed Bones of Shang it meant wind and had no connection whatsoever with a divine bird.

The character representing rain on the bones comprises the canopy of heaven above and small dots or dashes representing water dropping from it.

There are two sorts of Shang characters representing wind. One the canopy of heaven with the pictograph of a bird under it. The other is a very artistic pictograph of a large bird. The meaning implied by the pictographs is such as would be produced by huge birds flying over head. The flapping of great wings caused the wind. This is one of the most beautiful pictographs of the Shang bones and a wonderful example of how the difficulty of explaining the wind was cleverly managed. The Shang pictograph of the phoenix, if we may copy Han writers in so terming it, is frequently coupled with the pictograph representing rain when the oracle had been consulted as to whether or not there would be "Wind and Rain". The phoenix does not appear to have been considered a sacred bird during the Shang Period.

Plate V

















































| | |
|---|---|
|  Hsiang ^s  Ch'ün ^{c.B.}  Ch'ün ^{c.B.}  Ch'ün ^{c.B.}  Ch'ün ^{c.B.}  Ch'ün ^{c.B.} |  Ch'ün ^{c.B.}  Ch'ün ^{c.B.}  Ch'ün ^{c.B.}  Ch'ün ^{c.B.}  Ch'ün ^{c.B.}  Ch'ün ^{c.B.} |
|  Kao ^s  Kao ^s  Kao ^s  Kao ^{c.B.}  Kao ^{s.w.}  Kao ^{s.w.} |  Ching ^{c.B.}  Ching ^{c.B.}  Ching ^{c.B.}  Ching ^{c.B.}  Ching ^{c.B.}  Ching ^{s.w.} |
|  Po ^s  Po ^s  Po ^s  Po ^{s.B.}  Po ^{s.w.}  Po ^{s.w.} |  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.} |
|  Hsiang Ching ^{c.B.}  Hsiang Ching ^{c.B.}  Hsiang Ching ^{c.B.}  Hsiang Ching ^{c.B.}  Hsiang Ching ^{c.B.}  Hsiang Ching ^{c.B.} |  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.}  I Ching ^{c.B.} |

PLATE V

The early Chinese in building up their pictographs to represent a capital had in mind the idea of loftiness and a place of outstanding eminence above the ordinary. By reference to Plate V it will be noticed that there were a number of Shang characters based on the same principle which are explained under the following headings:

京 Ching.

Capital or metropolis, the center of the kingdom. It implies loftiness and centrality.

高 Kao

High, eminent. The Shang forms picture a tower supported by a substructure and the voice of authority.

享 Hsiang;

To offer a gift to a superior. The top section of the character represents a superior while the lower section represents the object offered.

昌 Hsiang;
羊 Yang } Ch'ün

Hsiang 昌 in combination with Yang 羊, sheep, means sheep fit to offer to a superior as a present. It was probably the Shang term for tribute.

亳 Po.

The name of the ancient Shang capital which is alluded to in Mencius as the capital of T'ang. The people of Shang are said to have moved from this capital about 1401 B.C.

昌 Hsiang;
京 Ching

This is another name for a capital and frequently appears in the bone inscriptions.

義 I;
京 Ching

This is another capital found in the Shang inscriptions. It is not common and was probably not occupied for a long period.

At the lower right hand corner of Plate V are shown three further capitals from Shang Bone Inscriptions. These have not been identified. From their formation they may have been intended to represent Kuang Ching (光京), Bright Capital. The forms comprise fire, below which is capital.

Plate VI









| | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|---|
|  Chih Swine (wild) |  Shih Swine (Domesticated) |  Ch'üan Dog |  Niu Ox |  Yang Sheep |  T'un Sucking Pig |  Mu To pasture |
|  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |
|  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |
|  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |  S.W. |

PLATE VI

The inscriptions on the bones and tortoise shell give us considerable truthful data in respect to the early civilization of the people of Shang. From the inscriptions we definitely know that during that period horses, oxen, swine, sheep and dogs were domesticated, that they kept their pigs in a sty, cherished the sucking pig as a delicacy and pastured their herds of cattle and sheep. By reference to Plate VI it will be noticed that most of this is depicted by very expressive pictographs, only one of which needs explaining.

牧 Mu, To pasture. The Shang forms picture sheep or oxen being driven by aid of a stick. The first example is composed: sheep and a hand holding a stick. The second form an ox, a hand holding a stick. The third form is extremely interesting as it depicts a hand holding a cord fastened round a sheep's neck. The Shuo Wên and modern characters are composed: ox and hand.

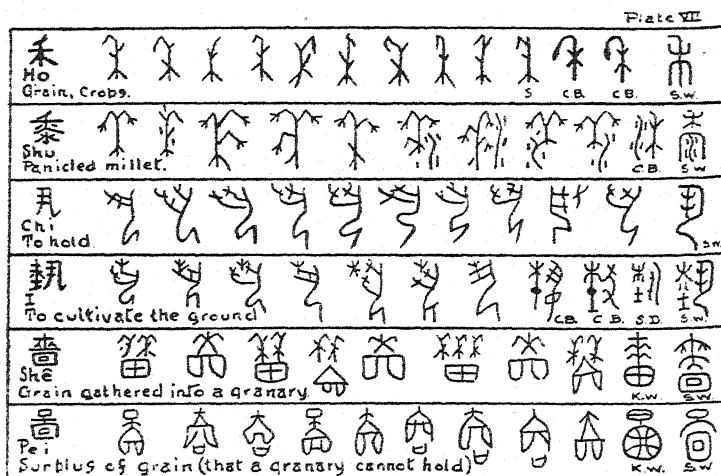


PLATE VII

We now come to another interesting feature of Shang civilization; that pertaining to their agriculture which is illustrated by the pictographs shown on Plate VII.

禾 Ho, Grain.

The archaic form of the Shang period is a pictograph of a stalk of grain, picturing the roots at the bottom and the leaves at the top. The character if we may so term it is the general term for crops. It is interesting to note that there has been very slight change in the formation of the character during its evolution up to the modern.

黍 Shu, Panicked Millet.

This is distinctively a different grain as compared with the Ho (禾) as illustrated above and it strongly points to the fact that the people of Shang cultivated other grain than the Panicked Millet if we may term it such. Some of the archaic forms very closely resemble the kaoliang (高粱) *Sorghum vulgare* now cultivated in North China. It will be noticed that Shang forms 6 to 9 have the symbol for stream near the root of the plant. This was copied on the Chou Bronzes by the Shuo Wên and the K'ang-hsi character. It has no connection with rice as some authorities have suggested.

𠂔 Chi, To Hold.

So as to explain better the following example the third character on Plate VII illustrates the character "to hold" through its evolution. In the Shang pictographs we see a human figure in

kneeling position with outstretched hands as if holding an object.

𪚩 I, To cultivate the ground;

The archaic Shang forms picture the kneeling human figure with a small plant in outstretched hands as if in the act of planting. There is very close relationship in this form to the planting of the Ho (禾) grain.

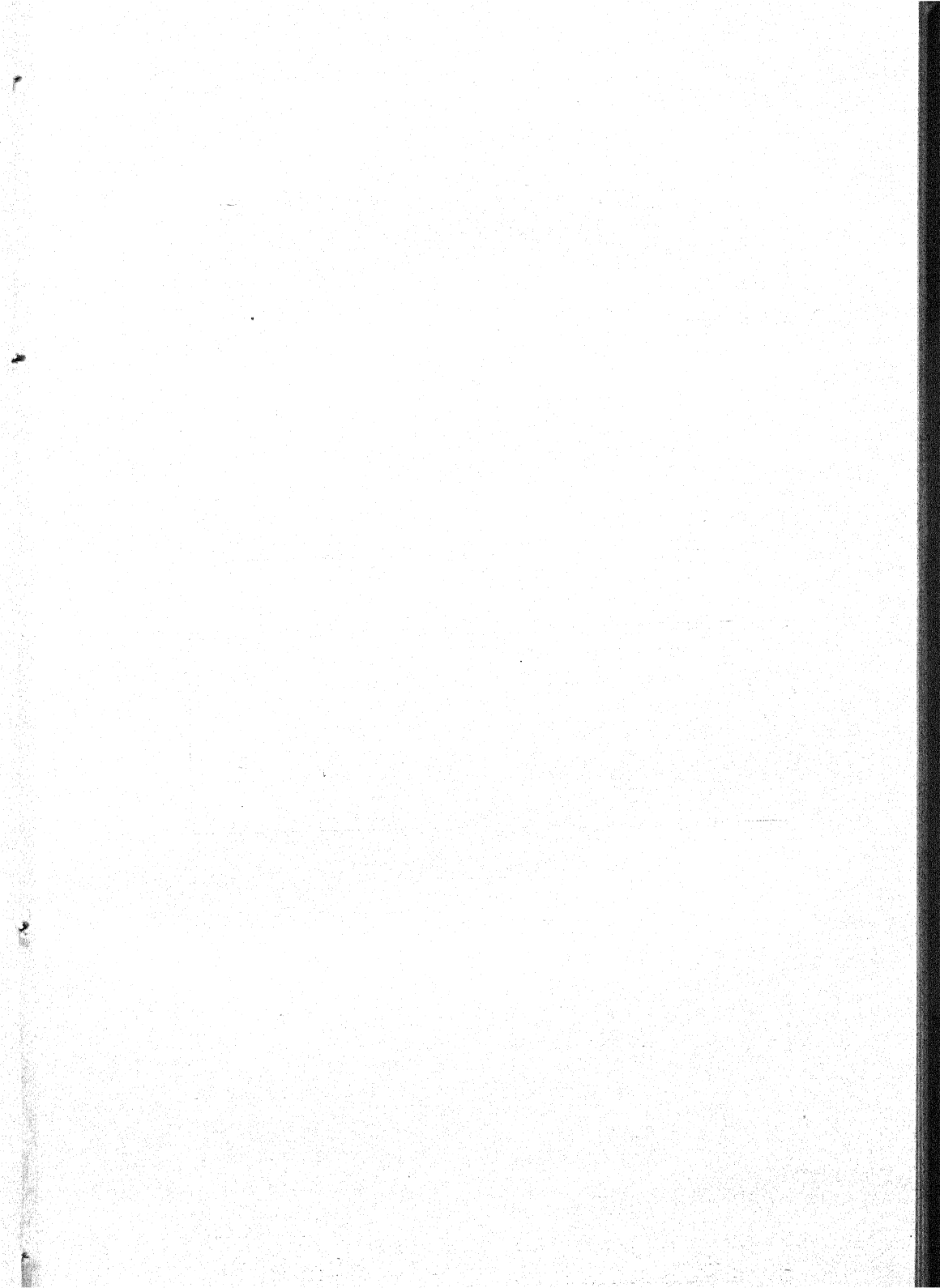
𪚩 Shê

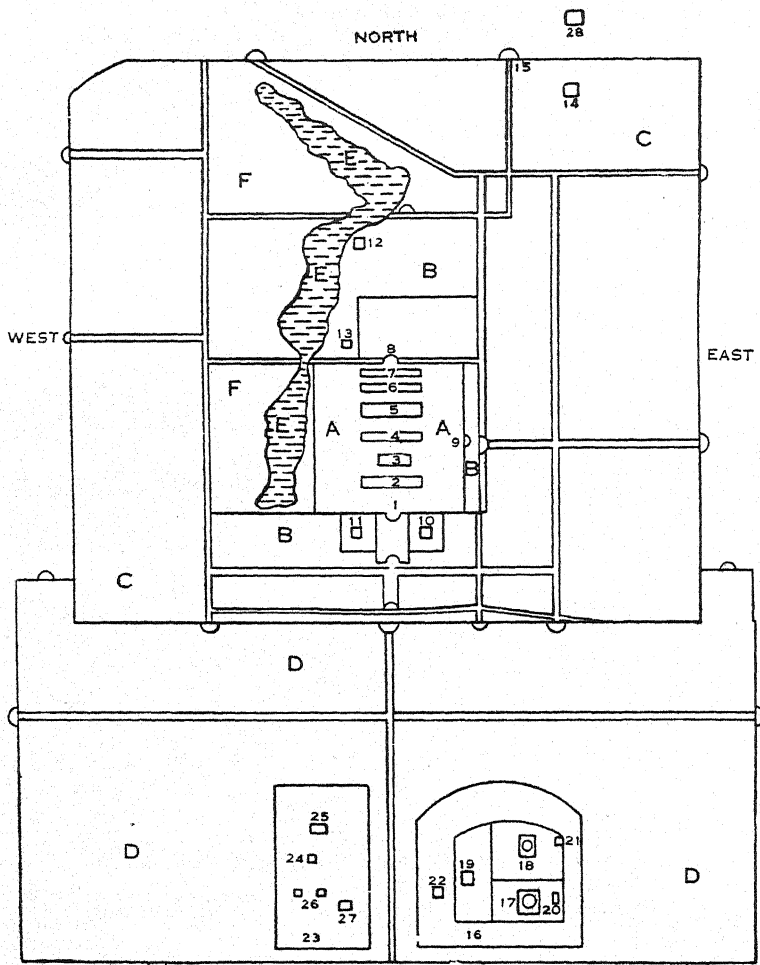
The meaning of this character is grain gathered into a granary. By comparison with Ho (禾), grain, it will be noticed that the Shang pictographs evidently represented grain being stored in an underground granary over which is stacked the stalks of grain. The Shuo Wên and Ku Wên characters appear to convey the same idea.

𪚩 Pei

The surplus of grain, (that a granary cannot hold) has very close connection with Shê (𪚩) which during the Shang Period stood for the Government storage of grain.

NOTE: The following symbols are used on the plates: S. Shang Bone Inscriptions; S. B. Shang Bronze Inscriptions; C. B. Chou Bronze Inscriptions; S. D. Stone Drum Inscriptions; K. W. Ku Wên; S. W. Shou Wên Dictionary; M. Modern Character.





MAP OF PEKING
SOUTH

KEY TO PLAN

A A Palace,
 B B Imperial City,
 C C Tartar or Manchu City,
 D D Southern Suburb or Chinese City,
 E E Lakes in Park,
 F F Imperial or Western Park.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Wu Men or South Gate of Palace, | 13. Ta Kao Tien, Lama Temple, |
| 2. T'ai Ho Tien, Palace Hall, | 14. An Ting Gate, |
| 3. Chung Ho Tien, | 15. Temple of Heaven, |
| 4. Pao Ho Tien, | 16. Open Altar to Shang Ti, |
| 5. Ch'ien Ch'ing Kung, Palace Hall, | 17. Pavilion of Prayer for Harvest, |
| 6. Chiao T'ai Tien, | 18. Hall of Fasting, |
| 7. K'un Ning Kung, | 19. Slaughter House, |
| 8. Shen Wu Men, North Gate of Palace, | 20. Kitchen, |
| 9. East Gate of Palace, | 21. Campanile, |
| 10. Temple to Imperial Ancestors, | 22. Temple of Agriculture, |
| 11. Altar to Spirits of Soil and Grain, | 23. Altar to Hsien Nung, |
| 12. Temple to Goddess of Silk, | 24. Hall to Year Star, |
| | 25. Altars to Spirits of Heaven and Earth, |
| | 26. Field of God for Plowing, |
| | 27. Temple of Earth. |
| | 28. |

AGRICULTURAL RITES IN THE RELIGION OF OLD CHINA*

By EDWARD T. WILLIAMS

[PREFATORY NOTE:—The title requires a word of explanation. By "The Religion of Old China", I mean that state religion, which, although it originated in a remote antiquity and underwent many modifications during the centuries, nevertheless survived down to our own day and found its elaborate and costly ceremonies still observed under the Manchu Dynasty.

When that dynasty was overthrown by the Republic in A.D. 1912 the state altars were abandoned; the religious offices of the Government were ended. Attempts to revive the old religion were made, but failed. Certain high officials tried to put Buddhism in its place, but this attempt also failed.

The old religion has perished, but its ceremonies are still of interest to the student. This paper proposes to set forth the essential features of the rites that aimed to insure an adequate supply of food for the nation.

The author has many times visited and examined all the altars and temples with one exception that are here described. The exception is the temple to the Goddess of Silk. For this, however, he has the accurate plan and the careful description given in the *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*. For many months past he has read and translated the provisions of the Manual of the Board of Ceremonies and the statutes of the *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien* that treat of these rites and has also made translation of the passages in the *T'ung Tien* that give account of the many changes in the ceremonies under various dynasties.—E.T.W.]

Confucius was asked one day by a disciple:—"What are the essentials of Government?" The Master replied:—"Enough food, enough soldiers and good faith among the people."¹ In other words, the first duty of the Government is to see that the people are fed. From of old therefore the Chinese Government has emphasized the importance of agriculture upon which the people depend for their sustenance.

In the classification of the population a common expression is "*Shih, nung, kung, shang*", i.e. scholars, farmers, mechanics and merchants, in the order of their importance. But a more common, popular saying is:—"First the farmer and second the scholar." By scholars is meant the educated classes, who are or were the governing classes.

Of the sixteen apothegms of the Sacred Edict of K'anghsi, the fourth says:—"Give importance to agriculture and sericulture that

* This is the second recent study in Chinese religious rites (cf. "The Worship of Lei Tsu, Patron Saint of Silk Workers" in Vol. LXVI, 1935), by Dr. Williams, Aggaziz Professor Emeritus of Chinese at the University of California. Dr. Williams published as long ago as 1913, in Vol. XLIV of the *Journal* "The State Religion of China under the Manchus". A member of this Society since 1889, Professor Williams has been a frequent contributor to the *Journal*.—Editor.

¹ The *Analects*, XII: 7.

there may be sufficient food and clothing". Yungchêng, the successor of K'anghsi, expounding his father's edict, notes that the Emperor in person, once a year, plowed the Field of God, and that Her Majesty, the Empress, herself reared silk worms and spun silk. We are not surprised, therefore, to find the state religion of the empire paying meticulous attention to the worship of agricultural divinities.

I have elsewhere² called attention to the fact that the Manchu Manual of the Ministry of Ceremonies divides the deities worshipped into three classes:—(1) the Supreme God (Shang Ti), Imperial Earth, the Imperial Ancestors, Spirits of the Soil and the Grains, and Confucius. (2) The Sun, the Moon, Rulers of preceding dynasties, the Patron Saint of Agriculture, the Patroness of Sericulture, the subordinate Spirits of Heaven and those of Earth, and the planet Jupiter which is the "Year Star", whose position in the sky aided in the regulation of the old solar-lunar calendar. (3) A multitude of lesser divinities, including the God of Medicine, the God of War, the God of Fire and the God of the Soil (司土).

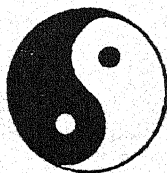
In each of these categories, as can be seen, there is at least one deity, and in the first two categories there are several deities that are to be considered as having an influence upon agriculture. Shang Ti, the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, having authority over all lesser divinities, can not be regarded as indifferent to the conduct of those spirits that bring weal or woe to man. Indeed when sacrifice was made to Him on the great marble altar in the Temple of Heaven, offerings were made also on the second terrace of the altar to those ministering spirits of Heaven, or angels, that regulate the movements of the clouds, the distribution of rain, the winds and the lightning. They were the "Four Assisting Spirits of Heaven", without whose influences the Earth would remain unproductive.

It is uncertain when the worship of Empress Earth came to be regarded as equal in importance with that of the Imperial Lord of Heaven. In the Canon of History, in the first section of the Books of Chou, it is written:—"Heaven and Earth are the parents of all creatures". It is probable therefore, that for some three thousand years Heaven and Earth have been considered by the Chinese as having the relationship of husband and wife and as being the father and mother of human beings as well as of all living creatures.

During later ages and especially during the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960-1278) this conception developed into a philosophy which divided all things in heaven or on earth into two classes³;—the *yin* and the

² *Journal of the North China Branch R.A.S. 1913* and *China Yesterday and To-day*, Chap. XIII.

³ The *yin* and *yang*, the dual forces of nature, are represented symbolically by a circle, divided into two parts, one light the other dark, as here:—



yang, i.e. the dark and the light, the weak and the strong, the female and the male. Heaven was bright, strong and masculine. Earth was dark, weak and feminine and the moon, as the earth's satellite was also *yin* in character. To illustrate this philosophy, they employed the whole and the broken line, from which came the use of the trigrams⁴ and the hexagrams, and a numerology. Odd numbers, being indivisible by 2, belong to the category of *yang*, while even numbers belong to the *yin*. Thus in the construction of the altar to Shang Ti odd numbers prevail, especially 3 and 9, while at that to Earth even numbers are used;—8 pieces of music, and 8 pieces of silk.

The number 7 is the dominant one at the altar to the Sun and 6 at that to the Moon. In worshipping masculine beings, one must face north and when sacrificing to the feminine, face the south. Vessels used in worship of celestial deities are round, as Heaven is circular, while by ancient tradition Earth was square and the vessels used at Earth's altar are square. The sky is blue, hence all objects used in worship of celestial divinities are blue in color, while those at Earth's altar are yellow, the color of the soil in North China. Red is the color of gems, silk and tiles at the temple to the Sun, while white is the color used at the altar to the Moon. But there are five colors in Chinese philosophy and we shall find them all used at various altars as we proceed with this study. Shang Ti was worshipped at the winter solstice, the longest night of the year, the worshipper facing the north, the side of darkness. Special sacrifices for rain or the spring sacrifice for a good harvest were also offered before dawn on a prescribed day. But sacrifice to the Earth was made at the summer solstice at high noon and facing the south. The Sun was worshipped on a set day just before sun-rise and the Moon on a given day just after sunset. Time, in other words, was an important factor.

Before worship of any important deity, it was necessary to bathe and fast. For sacrifices of the first grade the Emperor and all officials who took part in the service were required to fast three days, and for those to divinities of the second grade, fast two days. Fasting did not mean entire abstinence from food, but from flesh and all strong-smelling vegetables and from wine and all strong drink. It meant too that the officers concerned were forbidden to hold criminal trials, to permit music in their homes or to invite or accept invitation to a feast, and, moreover, they were not allowed to enquire after the sick or to mourn for the dead. It was not permissible even to worship one's ancestors. All association with illness and death was to be avoided.

The offerings consisted of slain bullocks, boars and rams, cooked and baked dishes, especially shew bread, which in certain cases was changed every new moon and every full moon, salted vegetables, incense, libations of wine, lighted candles, gems and silk. In some

⁴ The possible number of combinations in trigrams of a whole and a broken line is eight, given here:—



If combined in hexagrams the number becomes sixty-four.

instances game was offered. In the worship of Shang Ti there was a burnt offering of a young bullock. In all important sacrifices a prayer written upon a tablet was presented. The *Li Chi*⁵ tells us that sacrifice was for "petition, for thanksgiving and to ward off calamity". It states also that the blood was offered because it contained the life. Students of the Old Testament may be interested in some of these details.⁶

Worship at any of the state altars was a very elaborate affair. It was accompanied by vocal and instrumental music and by dancing or posturing. The Emperor donned his sacrificial robes for the presentation of the offerings, and attending princes and ministers of state wore rich court dress. The musicians and dancers were in uniform; in many cases a dark blue gown with facings of light blue, but the military dancers at times were clothed in red with embroidery of gold. At the service at the open marble altar of the Temple of Heaven there were 259 musicians employed; at the altar to Earth 247. The full number of dancers was 300, of whom one-half were civilian, the other half military. The civilians carried wands and plumes; the military, battle axes and spears. Eight kinds of musical instruments were used, including wind- and string- instruments, drums, cymbals and musical stones. 216 cooks were employed in preparing the offerings at the Temple of Heaven when sacrifice was made at the open altar. All these servants and official attendants had to be paid and the total expense of the state religion must have amounted to millions of dollars every year. The pay of musicians and servants was not large per man. The 300 musicians received one tael a month together with 3 *tou*, 3 *shêng* of rice, about three and a half pecks.

The services in which this paper is especially interested were those at the open marble altar of the Temple of Heaven and at the covered altar where prayer for a good harvest was made, at the altar to Earth, the plowing of the sacred field and the worship of the First Farmer, the offerings to the traditional inventor of silk and the services at the *Shê Chi* altar in Peking, i.e. to the Spirits of the Soil and the Grains, as well as those at the provincial altars to the *Shê Chi*. Such an altar with a field which local officials had to plow was found in every county. There were in the days of the Empire some 1600 counties in China. Probably in no other country was so much attention given to the worship of agricultural deities.

Nearly all ancient peoples observed rites intended to secure abundant harvests. The Hebrews had three great festivals in the celebration of which all males were required to appear before God in the place appointed for His worship⁷; the Passover, Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles. All of these had relation to agriculture. It is true that the Passover commemorated the escape of Israel from Egypt. This was observed on the 14th of Nisan (March-April). But on the following day began the Feast of Unleavened Bread and on the 16th the first fruits were presented in the temple,

⁵ *Li Chi* (禮記) V: 11.

⁶ A more complete account is given in Chap. XIII of *China Yesterday and To-day*.

⁷ *Exodus*; XXIII: 14-17.

some ripened grains of barley, as a thank-offering to God for the harvest. Not until this offering was made did the people begin the reaping of the barley. Fifty days after Passover was the Feast of Pentecost, which marked the conclusion of the barley harvest. In the Seventh Moon, Tisri, (September-October) came the Feast of Ingathering, which was also called "the Feast of Tabernacles" because the people in their joy built booths in which they dwelt in remembrance of the time when their ancestors lived in tents as they journeyed in the wilderness.

But the real meaning of this feast was a thanksgiving for all the fruits of the earth;—the grain from the threshing-floor, the fruits from the orchard and the wine from the wine-press. In all these festivals great numbers of bullocks, sheep and goats were slain and offered in sacrifice, accompanied by baked dishes and by libations of wine. And not only did the worshippers thank God for His bounty but prayed also that He would continue to bless the soil and make it productive.⁸ But the Hebrew people were not content with this very elaborate and costly ritual. The women in particular, who were rather ignored in the requirement that all males should appear before God three times every year, were disposed to adhere to rites unknown to the Mosaic code. Ezekiel in his day complained that the women in Jerusalem sat weeping for Tammuz.⁹ Tammuz was a god introduced from Mesopotamia and one worshipped in ancient days by the Sumerians,¹⁰ who are said to have taught his worship to the Akkadians and the Hebrew forefathers. Tammuz is but another name for Adonis, who with Venus or, more properly, Aphrodite was worshipped by the Greeks. But the Greeks borrowed the cult from Syria. In Phoenicia a similar cult was that of Attis and Cybele, Cybele being the mother goddess. In Egypt we find Isis and Osiris. All these cults apparently sprang from one root.¹¹ In some cases the goddess was the mother, in others the wife or a sister. The god dies and the mother or spouse weeps for him. On the third day he rises from the dead and the spouse or mother or sister rejoices. The worshippers weep and wail as they lament the death of the god and on the third day they give themselves up to rejoicing and festivity. The abundant harvest was thought to be the result of the union of the god and the goddess, and in some places the human worshippers gave themselves up to orgies of sexual promiscuity, thinking that by this imitative magic they could insure the productivity of the fields.

Such orgies were entirely unknown in China. Heaven and Earth were spoken of figuratively as "father and mother" and the medallion in the center of the dome over the covered altar in the Temple of Heaven represents both the dragon and the phoenix—emblems of the Emperor and Empress, but the services there and elsewhere in the state religion were always dignified. No indelicacy would be tolerated. Women took no part in the worship at the state altars, except in the worship of the Goddess of Silk. There the

⁸ *Deuteronomy*; XXVI: 15.

⁹ *Ezek*; VIII: 14.

¹⁰ Jastrow; *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 453.

¹¹ See Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Vol. I, Adonis, Attis, Osiris. Cf. Tiele: *Outlines of the History of the Ancient Religions*, pp. 83-84.

Empress and the Court ladies had entire charge of the ceremony. The only religion in China in which there was the slightest trace of obscenity was the Lamaist form of Buddhism. Some of the images and pictures in the Lama Temple at Peking aroused criticism among Europeans. But considered in relation to the Buddhist philosophy, they doubtless had their appropriate place. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

In Babylonia, Phrygia, Phoenicia, Greece and Egypt the ceremonies in aid of agriculture were designed to symbolize the changes in vegetation. The grain ripens. The stalks turn yellow. The plant dies. The harvested seed is sown. It is buried in the earth. It sends forth green shoots. These in turn bear fruit and die. This is the annual round. Two regions are involved;—the interior of the soil and the upper air. The soil provides shelter and nourishment for the grain. The upper air sends sunshine, rain and dew. These two regions are regarded as under the control of separate deities: one male, one female. The ruler of the upper air is masculine; the soil, in which as in a womb, the new life is formed is female. Lamentation for the death of the god and rejoicing in his resurrection are the characteristic features of the ceremony in western Asia. In eastern Asia these features were unknown.

In western Asia a living person was sometimes chosen to receive the sacrifices. He was thus associated with the god. In China a living grandson might be chosen to impersonate his deceased grandfather and receive the offerings made to ancestors; but in these agricultural ceremonies the associates of the deities were the spirits of imperial ancestors or sometimes the spirit of a legendary character such as Kou-lung, who was worshipped as representative of the Spirit of the Soil.

WORSHIP OF SHANG TI.

The national altars, with which this paper is chiefly concerned, were located at the capital. Shang Ti was worshipped in the Temple of Heaven, a large enclosure of 737 acres in the southern suburb. Earth had her altar outside the north wall of the city. The sacred field, plowed by the Emperor, was in the Temple of Agriculture, located in the southern suburb, west of the Temple of Heaven and enclosing an area nearly as large as the latter. In this same enclosure was the altar to Hsien Nung, the First Farmer, a hall for the worship of the Year Star, and altars for the worship also of the ministering spirits of Heaven and the subordinate spirits of Earth. The Altar to the *Shê Chi*, i.e. the Spirit of the Soil and the Spirit of the Grains, was in an enclosed court just outside the South gate of the Imperial Palace and west of the plaza that separated this court from the grove in which the T'ai Miao or Temple to Imperial Ancestors was sheltered. The temple to the Goddess of Silk was north of the palace near the lake.

Sacrifices were offered regularly three times a year to Shang Ti "the Supreme God of Imperial Heaven". These were at the Winter Solstice, in the First Moon of Spring and in Mid-summer, but special sacrifices might be made at other times in an emergency. The most important ceremony was that at the winter solstice, during the longest night of the year. I have already described this ceremony

in detail in Chapter XIII of *China Yesterday and Today*, but it seems to be necessary for the purposes of this paper to state again the most important features of this worship.

Of the three days fast which preceded the sacrifice, the first two were spent in the palace. On the morning of the third day His Majesty went to the T'ai Ho Tien to read the prayer that had been prepared and gave it his approval. About 9 o'clock a.m. the great bell and drum in the towers over the south gate of the palace announced that the Emperor was about to leave the palace for the Temple of Heaven. The route was carefully guarded and cleared of all unsightly objects. All shops and houses along the way were closed. No trains were allowed to enter or leave the city. Borne by thirty-six bearers, the Emperor was carried swiftly down the street in his palanquin. He was preceded by a herald and an incense-bearer and by the imperial standard and the symbolic umbrella, and was followed by a large retinue of princes, dukes and high officials.

All except the Emperor left their conveyances at the temple gate and entered on foot unless for the aged and weak a special dispensation had been granted. The enclosure is divided into a series of courts which become progressively more and more sacred as one passes inwards. At the south gate of the second court even the Emperor had to leave his chair and proceed on foot. In the shrine dedicated to Shang Ti he offered incense and announced his purpose to sacrifice the next morning, and having inspected the furniture of the marble altar and victims and other offerings, he was conducted to the Hall of Fasting where he rested until the summons to worship, which came to him three and a half hours before sunrise the next day.

The white marble altar is enclosed in a circular court. Outside of this there is a square court, in the southeast corner of which is the altar of burnt offerings, whereon once a year a young bullock without spot or blemish is made a whole burnt offering to God. Extending in a quadrant from this altar towards the east and north are eight braziers in which certain offerings to the imperial ancestors were burnt.

The marble altar is constructed in the form of three terraces, one above another. The topmost terrace is 77½ English feet in diameter; the lowest terrace a little more than 180 ft. in diameter, terraces are paved in concentric circles, every alternate stone being white and blue. Each terrace was surrounded by a marble balustrade. On the topmost terrace were five white marble pedestals decorated in low relief. On the middle one was placed the golden censer; on either side of this a golden candlestick and on the outermost pair of pedestals were vases with gilded flowers. A little westward of the pedestals there was a table for the prayer tablet, and on the east another table for the gem and the silk. Heavy beams were laid upon the pavement. These had sockets into which boards with tenons were fitted, so as to construct shrines for the spirit tablets.

The shrines were lined with yellow satin and covered with blue silk. There were nine shrines on the topmost terrace; one on the north for Shang Ti, four on the east and four on the west for the eight imperial ancestors, who were the Associates of the deity. On

the middle terrace there were four shrines; two on the east and two on the west. One of those on the east was dedicated to the Sun; the other to the Stars, particularly the North Star, the Five planets and the Twenty-eight Constellations. Of those on the west, one was dedicated to the Moon, the other to the Spirits of the Clouds, the Rain, the Winds and the Thunder. All these celestial powers had functions important to agriculture. From the four cardinal points of the compass there were flights of stairs by which one could ascend the altar;—nine steps from the ground to the first terrace and nine from one terrace to another. On the south and the north at the foot of each flight of nine steps there was a pair of bronze urns, four to five feet in height and some three feet in diameter. These were used as censers.

In the southwest corner of the square court of the altar were three tall masts, from which huge lanterns were suspended. At nightfall these were lighted and cast a faint glow over the altar. The candles on the altar were also lighted and sheltered from the wind by screens of blue mesh. At midnight the censer and the huge urns were filled with burning incense. At about the same time the Court of Sacrificial Worship set up a temporary altar at the slaughter house in the grove east of the square court of the altar. There the victims were slain with a knife to whose handle bells were attached. The blood of the animals was caught and poured into a pit. The hair was also buried.

Before each shrine a trencher was placed in which a whole ox flayed and cleansed was laid. Instead of cooking these flesh offerings, great quantities of boiling water were poured over them during the ceremony to give them the appearance of having been cooked. One whole ox was also put on the grill of the altar of burnt offering and was there consumed during the worship. Before each shrine there was placed a table also, on which were laid cooked vegetables, salted and pickled viands, fruits and baked dishes. Two other tables were set out near the center of the uppermost terrace; one for the prayer tablet and one to hold the jade, the silk, wine pitchers and libation cups.

Three hours and a half before sunrise, the Emperor was notified that the time for worship had arrived. When he left the hall of fasting, a bell in the temple campanile announced the fact. The officials at the altar, upon hearing it, went to the little temple north of the altar to get the various spirit tablets and bring them to the shrines on the altar. Each spirit tablet was placed in a cylindrical kiosque which was decorated in black and gold. Pairs of rings attached to the kiosques supported the carrying poles by which they were borne to the altar.

When the Emperor left the Hall of Fasting, he went out of the Inner Court by the west gate and, turning to the south, followed the wall of the Inner Court around to the south gate of the Inner Court. The walk was covered with coir matting and sheltered by a canopy. Standards with lighted lanterns were placed about fifteen feet apart. The lanterns were of purple gauze. At the south gate of the Inner Court His Majesty entered by the easternmost of the three openings. The central gates and paths were intended for the spirits. Upon reaching the square court of the altar, he entered a tent that had

been erected on the east side of the paved way. There he donned his high priestly robes and, coming out of the tent, he was met by officers carrying a ewer, basin and towel. He washed his hand before ascending the altar, thus symbolically indicating his fitness to enter the presence of deity.

On the lowest of the three terraces of the marble altar the princes and nobles down to those of the fourth rank were arranged. South of the altar the orchestra with their instruments, the choir and the dancers were arranged in ranks. Each group was divided into two parts, one-half being placed east of the sacred way and the other half on the west. The remainder of the courts southwards was occupied by the officials of lower rank who participated in the worship.

The service was divided into nine parts by nine pieces of music. All the worshippers faced the north, the side of darkness, just as the priests in Jerusalem did in the Jewish temple. The Emperor, having dried his hands on the towel offered him, passed through the south gate of the square court of the altar, using the easternmost of the three openings. Through the corresponding opening of the south gate of the circular court, he came to the foot of the steps leading up the altar.

Amidst great clouds of incense he climbed the steps to the middle terrace where a tent was prepared for him. There he paused for a moment. The wood upon the altar of burnt offerings was lighted. The Master of Ceremonies announced the first piece of music, an invitation to the spirits to be present. The choir chanted as the orchestra played. Following this the Emperor went up to the topmost terrace and made offerings of incense at the shrine of Shang Ti and at those of his ancestors. Returning to his station on the middle terrace, he was joined by the whole company of worshippers in the ceremony of the three kneelings and the nine prostrations. Another piece of music followed accompanying the offering of the gem, a circular piece of green jade.

The next offerings were of silk and cooked flesh, separated by more music. Each piece of music was ended by the stopper, a hollow wooden image of a tiger with bristles erect along his spine. These bristles were like the teeth of a comb, and when the leader's baton was drawn sharply over them, a shrieking sound was created that could be heard above the din of the instruments. This was the signal to bring the music to a stop. There were three libations of wine. After the first, the military dancers entered to exhibit their skill in the evolutions prescribed for spears and battle axes. With solemn ceremony then the prayer was read and the whole company joined in three salutations. The military dancers retired and the civilian entered to perform with wands and plumes. After two more libations the civilian dancers retired.

During all these offerings on the topmost terrace, subordinate officers were making similar offerings to the assisting spirits whose shrines were on the middle terrace, *i.e.* the spirits of the Sun, Moon and Stars and those of the Clouds, Rain, Winds and Thunder. Upon all these the farmer depends. By the Sun, Moon and the "Stars of the whole circle of heaven" (the zodiac) the calendar was fixed in accordance with which he sowed and reaped and the Clouds, Rain,

Winds and Thunder aided the soil to bring forth abundantly food for man and beast. After the third libation the Emperor was conducted to the shrine of Shang Ti, where he knelt and partook of the food offering and the drink offering, thus entering into communion with the Most High.

The whole service was conducted under the superintendence of the Ministry of Ceremonies, but the details were carried out by the Court of Sacrificial Worship. The Censorate, the Court of State Ceremonial and the Imperial Banqueting Court also took part, directing the movements of the large assembly of worshippers. Superior officers of the Court of Sacrificial Worship served on the topmost terrace and those of lesser rank on the middle terrace.

The sacrifices made at the covered altar in the northern part of the Inner Court in the First Moon of Spring and in Mid-summer were similar in character to that at the Winter Solstice. But originally there was no whole burnt offering to Shang Ti except at the Winter Solstice. In A.D. 1660 an imperial edict directed that the burnt offering of a young bullock should also be made whenever Shang Ti was worshipped at the Pavilion of Prayer for the Harvest.

EARTH WORSHIP.

The *T'ung Tien*,¹² reviewing the practices of various dynasties in the worship of Earth, discloses quite plainly the utter lack of uniformity in the ritual followed at various times and a want of agreement as to the importance of the worship. Although it boldly asserts that Earth was worshipped in the Hsia Dynasty (2205-1818 B.C.) in the Fifth Moon, the evidence for such an assertion does not appear. The quotation from the Chou Li is of doubtful value. It is intimated that at the beginning of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.) women diviners were employed (apparently for the worship of Mother Earth), but in the reign of Wu Ti (140 B.C.) the Emperor complained that no sacrifice was made to Earth. He set up an altar to Empress Earth, sacrificed a yellow calf and made his ancestor Kao Ti the Associate.

The ritual was revised in 73 B.C. The Emperor Hsüan Ti worshipped Earth in the First Moon on the east side of the river. In 32 B.C. the altar was removed to the north of the capital. At the commencement of the Christian Era the Earth was worshipped at the altar to Shang Ti in the southern suburb. Numerous changes were made during the succeeding centuries. Even under the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-905) the ritual was far from being satisfactorily settled. Although the regulations prescribed that Earth was to be worshipped at the Summer Solstice and at the square altar north of the capital, in A.D. 724 we find Earth Worshipped in the Second Moon, and in 732 an elaborate service of thanksgiving was held in gratitude to the Earth for abundant harvests in the Eleventh Moon. But in the following year the regular sacrifice to Empress Earth was at the summer solstice and at the square altar north of the capital. This eventually became the accepted rule, and was observed during the Manchu Dynasty.

¹² *L. C.*, Chap. XIV.

Earth is feminine and therefore belongs to the *yin* category. The altar to Earth was necessarily placed on the north of the capital, i.e. on the *yin* side. Anciently the earth was believed to be square in shape and all the vessels used in the worship of Empress Earth were square in shape, as the altar also was. Yellow is the color of the soil in North China and yellow was the dominant color at the Temple to Earth. The tiles on all the buildings were yellow; the silk offered to Earth was yellow; the prayer was written upon yellow paper and the gem that was offered was also yellow. The tablet to the Earth was placed in the center of the topmost terrace, facing north (the *yin* side) and the Emperor in worship stood on the north side of the altar facing south. The Associates in this worship were eight ancestors, but their tablets faced, four of them to the east and four to the west. They were not of the same category as the feminine earth and the silk sacrificed to them was white in color. The Earth being feminine, its number is even. The altar has four steps and the number of pieces of music played in the service is eight, dividing the worship into eight parts. There are also eight pieces of silk offered.

In accordance with the Regulations¹³ the victims to be offered on the altar to Earth, were inspected by an imperial prince five days before the sacrifice. Originally the three days of fasting before sacrifice were spent by the Emperor in his palace, but in A.D. 1651 the Emperor, Sun-chih, issued an edict requiring the night before the sacrifice to be spent at the Earth Temple in the rest rooms. Another imperial edict required all officials carefully to observe the fast. The prayer was inspected by His Majesty and on the day preceding the sacrifice he left his palace for the Temple to Earth. The imperial cortège and the police regulations concerning the streets through which it passed were similar to those for the worship at the altar to Heaven.

In addition to the tablets to Earth and to the eight imperial ancestors there were others to the spirits of the celebrated mountains, the four great rivers and the four seas. These were set up on the second terrace. Each tablet had a shrine covered with yellow silk. The Court of Sacrificial Worship was required to arrange all the furniture on the altar and prepare the numerous offerings for all state services. For the altar to Earth it was necessary to provide

- One golden censer, square in shape,
- One cover for the same,
- One golden base for same, . .
- Two golden candlesticks, square in shape,
- Two screens of golden mesh for same,
- One silver tankard,
- One silver ladle,
- One yellow gem, 4 in. square, 0.7 in. thick,
- Three gourd wine cups,
- One earthenware candlestick, yellow,
- Sixteen earthenware dishes, yellow,
- One earthenware wine jar, yellow,
- Fourteen containers, basketry and wooden ware, yellow.

¹³ I have followed here the provisions of Ch. 1069 of the *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien*.

For the two altars to imperial ancestors:

One silver tankard and one silver ladle each,
Sixteen earthenware dishes, yellow,
Three gourd wine cups lined with gold,
One yellow earthenware candlestick,
One yellow wine jar,
Fourteen containers, wood and basketry.

For the two altars to the mountains:

One silver ladle each,

For the two altars to the seas and rivers:

One silver ladle each.

For the above four subordinate altars:

Three earthenware libation cups each, yellow,
Thirty earthenware wine cups each, yellow,
Seventeen earthenware dishes each, yellow,
Twelve containers of wood and basketry each, yellow.

For offerings in the above listed furnishings there were ordered:

Thirteen sticks of Laka wood incense,
Five catties and more of fine incense, eight kinds altogether,
402 candles, some red, some white, some yellow,
Four pieces of yellow silk,
Three pieces of blue silk,
Sixteen pieces of white silk,
Three pieces of red silk and
Seven pieces of black,
Fifteen bullocks,
Five Rams,
Six Boars,
Two Deer,
Thirteen Hares,
Two to Three pecks of millet,
Eight to Nine pecks of Rice,
Twenty-five catties of white wheat flour,
Twenty-five catties of buckwheat flour.
Thirty-five catties of small millet,
Twelve catties and eight ounces of scallions,
Eighteen catties and eight ounces of celery,
Twenty-four catties and six ounces of red jujubes,
Twenty-nine catties and four ounces of chestnuts,
Twenty-one catties and two ounces of hazel nuts,
Thirty-five catties and 12 ounces of water chestnuts,
Forty-two catties, four ounces of *ch'ien* (lily-like plant),
Thirty-two catties, eight ounces of pickled fish,
Thirteen *K'ao* fish,
Thirteen small *K'ao* fish.
Twenty-six slices of large bamboo shoots,
One catty, ten ounces of garlic,
Three catties, four ounces of white sugar,
Four ounces of Gardenia seeds,
Four ounces of White Honey,
Six ounces each of pepper and coriander,
Ninety-six jars of distilled liquor,
Three jars of wine,
Ten catties, eight ounces of salt,
2,000 catties of kindling wood,
15 catties of charcoal,
294 pieces of pure ice,
65 catties of reeds,
130 catties of wood for roasting.

The foregoing list will enable one to make some estimate of the enormous cost of the state worship, but to do so one must remember that these offerings were made not only to Heaven and Earth, but to

thousands of gods and demi-gods, to saints and spirits of the great dead, whose shrines were found in every province and in every one of the sixteen hundred counties of China.

The mountains, rivers and seas were supposed to hold a relationship to the Earth similar to that of the Clouds, Rain, Winds and Thunder to Shang Ti. There were the "Five Peaks"¹⁴ (嶽), sacred "high places", one for each of the five regions;—north, south, east, west, and center. There were also the "Five Guardians"¹⁵ (鎮), another group of five mountains that had to be worshipped. There were also five mountain ranges.¹⁶ The "Four Seas" were those that bounded the empire, as was believed, on the four sides. The "Four Rivers" were the Yangtze, Yellow, Huai and Tsi¹⁷. The silks offered to the "Five Peaks" are of five colors; blue, red, yellow, white and black. For the other mountains, white. For the "Four Seas", blue, red, white and black. For the "Four Rivers", black only.

The ceremony of sacrifice to Earth was similar to that employed in the worship of Heaven or Shang Ti, but less elaborate and divided into eight parts instead of nine. The Emperor left his palace by the east gate and went out of the city by the Anting Gate. The Imperial Equipage Department provides a ewer, basin and towel for the washing of the Emperor's hands. He enters the north gate of the outer court of the altar and through its western opening. He takes his place on the second of the four terraces, and facing the south. In the meantime the tablet to the Spirit of Earth and those to the Associate Spirits and to the subordinate or Assisting Spirits have all been brought from their shrines and placed on the altar. Those to the subordinate Spirits are placed on the second terrace.

The officers of the Court of State Ceremonial conduct the princes, and other nobles and the high officers who participate in the ceremony to their respective places of worship. The orchestra, the choir, and the military and civilian dancers all take their places. The Master of Ceremonies calls out:—"Approach the tables". His Majesty ascends the altar from the north and stands before the tablet to Earth facing south. Officers bearing offerings of fowls and flesh and others carrying incense also stand waiting. The leader of the orchestra announces the music for welcoming the spirits. It is "Central Peace". The choir chants and the orchestra plays. The Emperor kneels before the tablet to Earth and offers incense which one of the bearers has brought him. This he does three times and then proceeds to the altars to his ancestors who are the Associates and offers them incense. Returning to his place of worship, he leads the whole company in the three kneelings and nine head-knockings.

¹⁴ The five peaks were T'ai (泰) in Shantung for the east, Hêng (衡) in Hunan for the south, Hua (華) in Shensi for the west, Hêng (恆) in Hopei for the north and Sung (嵩) in Honan for the center.

¹⁵ The five Guardians were I (沂) in Shantung for east, Hui Chi (會稽) in Chekiang for south, Huo (霍) in Honan for center, Wu (吳) in Shensi for the west and Wu (巫) in Hopei for north.

¹⁶ The five Ranges were Ta Yü (大庾) between Kiangsi and Kuangtung, Shih An (始安) continuing above, Lin Ho (臨賀), between Hunan and Kuangtung, Kuei Yang (桂陽) north of Kuangsi, and Chieh Yang (揭陽) between Fukien and Kuangtung.

¹⁷ More properly *Chi*, the Chi Shui (濟水) of Shantung. It will be noted that these four are all within the boundaries of ancient China.

The music is stopped. In a similar manner the gem and the silk are offered while the orchestra and choir play and chant "Extensive Peace". For the flesh offering the music is "Abundant Peace".

This is followed by the first libation. The Emperor takes the spirits from a cup-bearer and pours it out to the tune and chant, "Great Peace". The military dancers enter and brandish their spears and battle axes. The uniforms of the musicians and dancers were like those worn in the worship of Shang Ti;—musicians, dark blue borders, and long gowns of blue satin, the military dancers blue taffeta coats and gowns with gold embroidery; civilian dancers, blue satin coats over cotton cloth gowns.

After the military dance the Emperor and whole assembly kneel while the prayer is read. Then all join in three salutations (*pai*). While these various acts of worship take place on the top of the altar subordinate officers are presenting similar offerings to the assisting spirits on the second terrace. The music was interrupted during the prayer but continued while the Emperor worshipped his ancestors. After it was stopped the military dancers were replaced by the civilian, who postured with plumes and wands.

This was followed by the second libation to the tune of "Restful Peace". Cups of wine were then offered to the assisting spirits. The civilian dancers retired and the Emperor ascended to the top of the altar to partake of the food and drink offerings. The choir¹⁸ and orchestra chanted and played "Virtuous Peace". Preparations were then made for carrying away the offerings. The whole assembly joined in three kneelings and nine kotows. The orchestra and choir presented the music "Following Peace" during which, after kneeling and worshipping before the tablets, officers carried the prayer tablet, the silk, incense and other offerings to the burial pit, for offerings to the Earth had to be buried. This did not apply to the offerings made to the imperial ancestors. They were supposed to be on high and the offerings to them ascend in the flames of fire in the braziers. After watching the burial and burning of the offerings the Emperor retired and officers of the Court of Sacrificial Worship with solemn ceremony returned the Spirit Tablets to their permanent shrines.

PLOWING THE SACRED FIELD.

The sacred field is a plot of ground in the Temple of Agriculture, which is a large enclosure across the plaza westward from the Temple of Heaven. This enclosure formed the headquarters of the American troops during the troubles that followed the Boxer rising in 1900. The building occupied by General Chaffee as an office faces the plot which was plowed and the terrace before that office was that on which the Emperor watched the proceedings after he had done his share of the plowing. The ceremony of plowing was connected with the worship of Hsien Nung, "the First Farmer", a mythical person who was said by tradition to have lived in the 28th century B.C.

The altar to Hsien Nung (also called Shên Nung, "divine Farmer") was just west of the plowed field. It was about 25 feet square and raised about three feet above the level of the ground. The

¹⁸ It is to be understood that when music is mentioned there was chanting as well as instrumental music.

worship of this patron saint of agriculture was of the second grade. It was offered every year in the Third Moon on a day whose cyclical representation contained the character *hai* (亥), one of the Twelve Honorary characters which in combination with the Ten Celestial Stems form the cycle of sixty, by which the Chinese reckon. The character *hai* is represented by the boar in the list of animals that represent the years.

Being a sacrifice of the second grade, the fast preceding it was of two days only. The ceremony, too, was less elaborate than those that accompanied sacrifices of the first rank. But there were the usual preparations;—the inspection of the victims, the writing of a prayer and its approval by the Emperor, the erection of a dressing tent for His Majesty, arrangements for hand-washing, and the attendance of an orchestra, a choir and the military and civilian dancers. The tablet to the First Farmer was placed in the center of the altar, facing the south. The three principal sacrifices were a bullock, a ram, and a boar. These were accompanied by offerings of incense and silk, cooked vegetables and fruits, libations of wine and the reading of a prayer with chanting, orchestral music and dancing. The Emperor partook of the food offering and drink offering as in other sacrifices. The chants all related either to abundant harvests or general prosperity.

After the service His Majesty went to the sacred field to plow. He was assisted by three princes and nine other high officials. The nine included the presiding officers of the Six Boards of the old regime together with the heads of the Censorate, the Grand Court of Revision and the Office of Transmission. All the implements used were arranged east and west of the plot to be plowed. The whole field was decorated with flags of the colors and fifty men had charge of them. Red signal flags indicated the lines of the furrows. The ceremony was accompanied by music. Fourteen old farmers were chosen to chant the grain hymn and six others beat gongs or played the drums, castanets, the flute and the organ (a wooden instrument with pipes similar to a bag-pipe). Thirty-four old farmers of the metropolitan prefecture were selected to assist. The Emperor's ox was yellow, his plow also, and his seed-box was green.

His Majesty and the officers who assisted put off their court robes and wore ordinary dress. Two old farmers led in the ox and two others hitched him to the plow. Officers of the Ministry of Ceremonies, the Court of Sacrificial Worship and of the Imperial Equipage Department accompanied the Emperor in the plowing and the officers of the Board of Revenue followed sowing the seed. His Majesty plowed three furrows up and three back. The seed sown was rice. The three princes each plowed five furrows up and back. Each had an old farmer to hold his ox and two others to assist in holding the plow. The Prefect followed sowing the seed. Their plow was red in color and the seed sown was wheat.

The nine high officials, who followed the princes in plowing, turned nine furrows each. Their plow, whip, and seed-box were all red, and the ox was blue-black in color. They were followed by the Sub-prefect and the two Country Magistrates of the metropolitan district with the seed, which consisted of millet and beans. When this was completed the Court of State Ceremonial conducted the Prefect

and his subordinates with the farmers that had assisted to the front of the observation terrace where they joined in the three kneelings and nine kotows to the Emperor. The farmers were then led by the Prefect and County Magistrates back to the field where the farmers completed the plowing. They were rewarded each with a roll of cloth. The grain gathered in the autumn from the sacred field was delivered to the Court of Sacrificial Worship to be used in the state worship. The oxen were turned over to the Department of the Imperial Household to be put out to pasture.

ASSISTING SPIRITS.

There are two other altars in the Temple of Agriculture. One is dedicated to the Assisting Spirits of Heaven, those of the Clouds, the Rain, the Winds and the Thunder and the other to the Assisting Spirits of Earth, those of the Five lofty Peaks, the Five Guardian Mountains, the Five Ranges, the Four Seas and Four Rivers. All these divinities have already been mentioned in connection with the worship of Heaven and Earth. The altars are located south of that to Hsien Nung and are near to one another. These spirits were supposed to co-operate in the interest of agriculture.

THE EMPRESS AND THE GODDESS OF SILK.

Corresponding to the agricultural labors of the Emperor, Her Majesty, the Empress, was expected to show diligence in rearing silk worms and in spinning silk. I have already treated of this elaborate ceremonial elsewhere¹⁹ and need now do no more than recall its striking features.

Although this worship was celebrated under the supervision of the Ministry of Ceremonies, the celebrants themselves were all women and girls and their assistants in the orchestra and choir were eunuchs from the palace. The Temple to the legendary lady who is supposed to have invented silk is located near the Marble Bridge on the shore of the lake. The Empress in person conducted the service, unless prevented by illness or other emergency, in which case an imperial concubine took her place. The Empress was assisted by two imperial concubines and by the ladies of the Court. The warning tablet to remind one of fasting in services to Heaven and Earth was placed at the entrance of the Ch'ien Ch'ing Kung, but in the case of this worship was at the door of the Chiao T'ai Tien. The Court of Sacrificial Worship attended to this and arranged the numerous offerings. The victims were an ox, a sheep and a pig. There is nothing to indicate that a prayer was made. Incense, silk, lighted candles, wine and food in great variety were the offerings. The Empress partook of the food and drink offerings. Forty-six ladies who assisted were given official rank and called *nü kuan* (women officers).

Rooms in the temple were used for hatching silk worms and for feeding them. In another the Empress reeled silk from cocoons and spun it. It was then dyed in three colors; vermillion, green and

¹⁹ *Journal of the North China Branch, R.A.S.*, Vol. LXVI, 1935.

yellow to be used in embroidering robes for the state services of worship. If the worms had already hatched, the Empress and her assistants came again the next day to gather mulberry leaves for the worms. The mulberry orchard was within the temple enclosure south of the altar. Forty eunuchs, each bearing a five-colored flag arranged themselves around the orchard and the ladies had a picnic. The Empress used a golden hook and cut off two branches. The concubines with hooks of silver and the princesses with hooks of silver-gilt each cut five branches. The other ladies, with lacquered hooks, each cut nine. If the worms had not yet hatched at the time of the sacrifice, a later date was fixed for the gathering of leaves. There was an orchestra and a choir, both for the sacrifice and for the mulberry ceremony. The latter was accompanied by a song called "Gathering the Mulberry Leaves".

SPIRITS OF THE SOIL AND THE GRAINS

Next to the ritual employed in the worship of Shang Ti at the Temple of Heaven, the most interesting of all the religious rites was that used in the worship at the *Shê Chi T'an*, i.e. the altar to the Spirits of the Soil and the Grains, sometimes called "The Guardian Spirits of the Land", and also spoken of as "The National Altars." There was one for the imperial government at the capital and one also in each county in the empire. That at which the Emperor officiated was situated in a walled enclosure west of the plaza just outside the south gate of the palace. It was remarkable for its construction.

The core of the altar was of earth. This was faced with glazed brick of various colors. On the east the bricks were blue, on the south, red, on the west white, on the north black while the top of the altar was colored yellow. These were the five colors of Chinese philosophy, correlated with the five directions;—east, south, west, north and center. They were also correlated with the five notes of music of the ancient pentatonic scale, with the five elements;—wood, fire, earth, metal and water and with the five planets;—Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus and Mercury, as well as with other quinary groups. The altar was about forty feet square and raised three or four feet above the level of the court. The walls of the court were of glazed brick in colors corresponding to the four sides of the altar.

The worship of the *Shê Chi* is of very ancient origin. It is mentioned in the *Canon of History* in the "Speech at Kan". It is mentioned by Confucius in the *Analects* under the name, "*Shê Chi*"²⁰ and also as "*Shê*"²¹ Mencius refers to the worship as addressed to the *Shê Chi* and makes that worship second in importance to the welfare of the people and more important than the ruler.²²

The *Ch'un Ch'iu* (Spring and Autumn Annals) mentions the altar five times and always as dedicated to the *Shê*. The commentary states that there was such an altar in every state of ancient China and that when the state of Po lost its independence, the King ordered

²⁰ Book XI: 24.

²¹ Book III: 21.

²² *Mencius*, Bk. VII: Pt. II; 14.

every state to erect a Po altar near the entrance to its ancestral temple as a warning that evil conduct might cause them to suffer a like calamity.²³ In the *Li Chi* (Record of Ceremonies) reference is made to the worship in the Royal Regulations and in the *Yüeh Ling* (Ceremonial Requirements, month by month).

The omission of the character, Chi, (稷) in some of these references may perhaps indicate that the worship of the *Shê* was of more importance than that of the *Chi* or possibly that the worship of *Shê* was older. The ideograph for *Shê* (社) indicates that it was the Spirit of the Soil²⁴ rather than the Spirit of Earth²⁵ as a whole that was worshipped. It was the Spirit that caused the soil to nourish the grain. The character, *Chi*, is that used for millet, the food of the common people in North China.

The worship of Shang Ti was of course more important than the worship of the *Shê Chi*, but only the King could worship Shang Ti; every state had its altar to *Shê Chi* where its ruler worshipped. Thus the altars to the *Shê Chi* came to represent the state, a metaphor still in common use throughout the period of the empire. The reference to the altar to the *Shê* in the "Speech at Kan" is of great interest because of the threat of the King to punish those who should disobey him in the expedition being undertaken—"You who disobey my orders shall be put to death before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will also put to death your children".²⁶

The practice of executing traitors at the Imperial Altar to the *Shê Chi* continued down into the Nineteenth Century of our era. My own copy of the Manual of the Ministry of Ceremonies is dated A.D. 1806. In Chapter XLIII one finds the Regulations for the Treatment of Prisoners taken in War. It opens with the following sentences:—

Every commander who takes prisoners in war shall send them to the capital. Three days in advance he shall memorialize for permission to observe the regulation for their presentation and reception. The Minister of War must be informed of the date of their arrival and the number of prisoners and their names. He shall request the Bureau of Astronomy to make sacrifice and discover a lucky day on which to present the prisoners in the Temple of Imperial Ancestors and at the Altar to the *Shê and Chi*.

Here follows a detailed description of the Ceremony. In the presence of the officers of the Imperial Clan and the various departments of the Government the prisoners were brought into the Temple of Imperial Ancestors with white cords around their necks and made to kneel before the tablets of the dead. Announcement was made to the spirits, and all these present, including the prisoners, observed the ceremony of the three kneelings and nine head-knockings. From this temple the prisoners were taken by officers of the Court of Sacrificial Worship to the Altar to the *Shê and Chi* where, after worship, they were presented to those spirits. The next day they were brought before the Emperor, who sat upon a throne in the tower over the Wu Gate (South Gate of the Palace), attended by his bodyguards, the Ministers of the Presence, officers of the army, and those of the Ministry of Ceremonies, the Court of State Ceremonial, Mini-

²³ *Ch'un Ch'iu*, XII; iv-8.

²⁴ The right side of the character, *Shê*, is *t'u*, which is soil rather than earth.

²⁵ Earth is *ti* (地) and as worshipped was called *Hou Ti*, "Empress Earth".

²⁶ The *Shu King*, Books of Hsia.

stry of War, and Ministry of Justice and by an orchestra and choir.

The approach of His Majesty was announced by the tolling of the great bell and the sounding of the golden drum. As he was conducted up the eastern ramp to the tower, the orchestra played its dischords. Two Ministers of the Presence stood, one on either side of the Throne, and the Leopard Tail Division of the Imperial Guard, girt with swords, were arranged in two ranks behind the Throne. As His Majesty took his seat, the music ceased. Then the Whip Bearers and the Heralds brought in the prisoners. There was more music and the choir sang:—"Rejoice in Peace". The prisoners knelt before the Emperor and kotowed. The examination of the captives was begun by the Ministry of War after they had been presented before the Throne. The judgment of the Emperor was requested. The Minister of Justice took his place kneeling before the Throne and awaiting the commands of His Majesty. The lives of the prisoners were in the hands of the Emperor. The comment of the Manual is significant:—"If the prisoners are not executed but pardoned, the order will be given to free them from their shackles and they will kotow and be led out."

To appreciate fully the meaning of this ceremony, we must remember that China regarded all other nations as her tributaries. A common Chinese proverb declares:—"There are not two suns in the sky nor two rulers for the people." Whenever, therefore, war occurred the enemies of the Emperor were considered to be traitors and worthy of death. We can better understand the attitude of the Chinese towards Europeans during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, if we bear this fact in mind. Possibly the execution of some of the British and French prisoners taken in 1860 might be charged to this false view of the relationship of the Western states to China. Even the British envoy, Macartney, had travelled from Tientsin to T'ungchow in a vessel over which floated a flag declaring that Great Britain was a tributary of China. Most of the European states were listed among China's tributaries. If the relationship were acknowledged, it would not, of course justify arrogance and cruelty, but China's claim to overlordship would in a measure explain her harshness.

The worship at the Imperial Altar to the *Shê Chi* was celebrated twice a year, in the mid-month of spring and the mid-month of autumn on a day whose cyclical representation contained the character *wu* (戊) (also pronounced *mou*). One of the noteworthy features of this worship was that it was addressed to both of the dual forces of nature—the masculine and the feminine, the *yang* and the *yin*. But the *yin* was given the preference, since the worshippers stood on the north of the altar, facing south, as in the worship of Earth. The tablets to the Great *Shê* and the Great *Chi* were placed on the altar at the south end, facing north. Associated with them in the sacrifice were two legendary persons. Kou-lung²⁷ was the associate of the *Shê*. He was said to have been the son of Kung-kung,²⁸ a mythical being who was alleged to have raised a rebellion

²⁷ 句龍.

²⁸ 共工.

in the 29th century B.C. He was called *Hou T'u*, i.e. the spirit "ruling the soil".

The associate of the *Chi* was *Ch'i*,²⁹ a legendary ancestor of the Chou rulers. He was said to have taught the people agriculture. In this service at the *Shê Chi* altar he was known as *Hou Chi*, "ruling the grains". The tablet to the spirit of *Hou T'u* or Kou-lung was placed on the east side of the altar, facing west, and that of *Ch'i*, the *Hou Chi*, on the west side facing east. The victims sacrificed to the *Shê Chi* were a bullock, a ram and a boar to the Great *Shê* and a bullock, a ram and a boar to the Great *Chi*. Before each tablet to these two spirits there were set two candles and a censer. Besides these offerings, food, cooked and uncooked, in great variety was presented as well as silk, gems and libations of wine. These offerings were arranged on the altar in various sorts of vessels—some of pottery, some of jade, others of gold, silver, wood, basketry or bronze.

The gems offered were of jade. A piece of white jade veined with yellow with a square flat base and an arched top was placed before the tablet to the Great *Shê*. A square piece of green jade was offered before that of the Great *Chi*. Yellow was the appropriate color for offerings to the Spirit of the Soil and blue for those to spirits of the upper air, such as the Spirit of the Grains. But to primitive peoples in various lands green and blue are two shades of one color. Even at the Temple of Heaven where the prevailing color was blue, some of the tiles were green. Thus the green³⁰ jade was considered as fitting for an offering to the Great *Chi*. Both pieces were 3 in. square and $\frac{3}{10}$ in. thick. Both had sharp points projecting from two sides, about $\frac{3}{10}$ in. long and $\frac{1}{10}$ in. wide.

The silk offered to *Shê* and *Chi* was black in color, and the prayer was written in black upon a white tablet with a yellow border. This prayer was read by an officer of the Court of Sacrificial Worship. The number of pieces of silk presented was four, an even number appropriate to the *yin* Spirit of the Soil, and the number of pieces of music in the service was seven, an odd number appropriate to the *yang* Spirit of the Grains. The musicians, singers and dancers numbered 227. The musicians and singers wore indigo blue gauze; the military dancers red gauze with gold embroidery and the civilian dancers red gowns. It must have been a colorful ceremony. The Emperor, princes and nobles, officers of the various departments of government and imperial guards, all either in court dress or in uniform filled the court of the altar and participated in the worship. It was required that the imperial altar to the *Shê Chi* should be open to the sky so as to receive the frosts, the dew, the winds and the rain. Therefore in antiquity if a state lost its independence, its altar to the *Shê* was enclosed and covered, as not deserving Heaven's blessings and the only light admitted to it came through a small opening on the north side.

Ordinarily then the service had to be held in the open, but if

²⁹ 稷.

³⁰ The character used for blue or green is *ch'ing* (青). Besides blue and green it sometimes means grey. Various explanations of its origin are given, but none seem satisfactory.

stormy weather occurred at the time of worship, it was permitted to observe the ceremony in the hall of worship which was nearby, north of the altar court. At the stroke of the fifth watch (3-5 a.m.) the princes and dukes who assisted in the worship were required to assemble outside the gate of the court of the altar where they arranged themselves in order and awaited the coming of the Emperor. Other participants also arranged themselves to the right and left of the way. The Prayer Officer entered and placed the prayer tablet with reverence upon the table prepared for it. The *T'ung Tien* quotes an ancient writer as saying that the service was to petition for blessings for the people and to return thanks for benefits received, because "There are no persons who are not supported by the earth, none who are not nourished by the grains. There can be no distinction. Therefore altars are erected to the *Shê Chi* and sacrifices made thereon". Such was the character of the prayer written upon the tablet and buried in the pit northwest of the altar.

The officers of the Ministry of Ceremonies inspected the sacrificial vessels and the victims, and one hour before sunrise the Court of Sacrificial Worship went to the shrine in which the spirit tablets were kept to offer incense and pray the spirits to accompany their tablets to the altar. The presiding officers of that Court then went to the Ch'ien Ch'ing Hall of the palace to report. Upon this His Majesty donned his sacrificial robes and at the stroke of the bell in the Wu Gate passed out of the palace enclosure and entered the north gate of the court of the *Shê Chi* altar. Musicians escorted him, but did not play. Princes and other nobles, who did not take part in the service, knelt by the wayside as he passed. He descended from his chair on the east side of the spirit way and entered his tent. As he came out to lead the worship, the customary wash-bâsin and towel were brought to him that he might be made ceremonially clean.

The Court of State Ceremonial meantime had arranged the princes, dukes and other officials who were to participate in the worship so that each had his appropriate place. The orchestra, choir and dancers all were at their stations. A herald cried—"Approach the tablets". The Emperor was escorted up the altar steps on the north side and stood before the tablet of the Great *Shê* facing south. The Choir chanted the invitation to the spirits, "Ascend in Peace" and the orchestra played. The incense-bearers brought incense and knelt beside the Emperor. His Majesty took three sticks of incense and lighted them in the censer before the tablet. He did the same before the tablet of the Great *Chi* and then made similar offering before the tablets of the two associates. The Master of Ceremony called out—"Worship". The Emperor made the three kneelings and nine kotows. The whole assembly joined in this worship.

The music ceased and then other offerings were made in the usual order;—the jade, the silk, and the flesh offering. These offerings were accompanied by music and followed by prostration and kotowing on the part of the whole assembly. The first libation was then poured accompanied by music and by the dancing of the military group of dancers brandishing battle axes and spears. The music paused for the worship and the dancers withdrew to be replaced by the civilian group with wands and plumes. The second libation was poured while the choir chanted "Cherish Peace", the orchestra played

and the dancers waved plumes and wands. When the music had ended the civilian dancers withdrew and Directors of the Banqueting Court offered the three victims;—the bullock, the ram and the boar. This was accompanied by the pouring of boiling water in the trenches to simulate cooking. An officer of the Court of Sacrificial Worship officiated as Chaplain and while the Emperor knelt beside the prayer tablet, the petition and thanksgiving were made and His Majesty then participated in the drink offering and the food offering. The whole assembly once more prostrated themselves in worship. After this the choir and the orchestra presented the chant of the "Great Peace".

The prayer tablet and the offerings were then carried to the burial pit while the choir chanted "Establish Peace", accompanied by the orchestra. His Majesty stood and watched with reverence the passing of the offerings after which he was escorted out through the north gate of the altar court and returned to the palace.

PROVINCIAL SHÊ CHI

It was not alone at the capital that the *Shê Chi* were worshipped. In ancient China, as we have seen, every state had its altar to the *Shê* and in some cases to the *Chi* also. When the empire was established the numerous states were replaced by provinces. The Manchu Dynasty in Chapter XXXVI of the *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien* required every province, prefecture, department (*chou*) and county to erect an altar to the *Shê* and *Chi* on which twice a year there was to be offered a ram and a boar. The sacrifice was to be made in the mid-month of spring and in the mid-month of autumn on a day having the cyclical character *wu* (戊). It was further required that there should be an altar dedicated to the Spirits of the Clouds, Rain, Winds and Thunder, and to the Spirits of the Mountains and Streams. These were to be worshipped on a lucky day to be selected in the mid-month of spring and in the mid-month of autumn. The presiding officer was the highest administrative official of the political division to be represented.

The tablets to the *Shê* and *Chi* always faced the north and the worshipper stood on the north side of the altar facing south. The tablet to Spirits of the Clouds, Rains, Winds and Thunder were given the place of honor on their altar and faced south. They belonged to the celestial powers and were worshipped from the south side of the altar. The mountains and streams worshipped with them had a tablet on the east side of that to Clouds, Rain, Winds and Thunder and another tablet placed on the west side was dedicated to the patron deity of the city. The mountains and streams whose spirits were worshipped were those within the boundaries of the district concerned. A long list of these for the several provinces was mentioned.

At this altar sacrifice was made for the usual rains. It was offered in the first moon of summer upon a lucky day to be selected. If the streams were dry a special prayer was to be made and if rain came, a thanksgiving offering was to be made. In offering incense, in reading the prayer, in the sacrifice of the two victims and in the inviting and dismissing the Spirits all the officers participating in the

worship were required to make the three kneelings and nine head-knockings. In the worship of the Spirits of the Clouds, Rain, Winds and Thunder and those of the Mountains and Streams the same sacrifices were made as in the worship of the *Shê Chi*.

In addition to the altar mentioned it was required that in every province there should be a temple erected to the Spirits of the Clouds, Rain, Winds and Thunder, and particularly to the Gracious and Beneficent Ruler of the Winds. In the chapter from which I quote, the title of this "Gracious Ruler" requires twenty-eight characters for its expression.

Following the regulations for the worship of the provincial *Shê Chi* and other Spirits mentioned, Chapter XXXVI provided furthermore that in every province there should be a field for plowing and a green seed box, a red plow, and a red whip as well as a black ox. The ceremony of plowing the field was similar to that at the capital with the Viceroy or Governor taking the place of the Emperor. Each officer plowed nine furrows up and nine back and the farmers who assisted completed the work. When it was finished the official led the peasant in the ceremony of three kneelings and nine kotows while all faced towards Peking.

OTHER RITES

Under the Manchu Government supervision was taken of the Buddhist and Taoist organizations, and the highest officials had to participate at times in rites of these religions. One of the most noteworthy instances was the worship by the Emperor at the Ta Kao Tien, a temple just outside the north wall of the palace enclosure. There in times of drought His Majesty went to pray for rain.

This was a shrine of the Taoists and a very beautiful specimen of Chinese architecture. Two curious pavilions, each roofed by a pyramid of bracket cornices, guard the entrance. In these pavilions Taoist monks were accustomed in times of distress to read their scriptures and in the main hall of the temple His Majesty worshipped an iron tablet, petitioning for rain. Through the greater part of the year the tablet was suspended in a well in southern Hopei (then Chihli) whose spring never went dry. The Tablet was believed to have acquired the virtues of the spring and, when needed, was sent to Peking to represent the Spirit of the Well, who might perhaps be induced to intercede with the dragon of the skies and persuade him to send the needed rains.

Lamaism is a corrupt form of Buddhism. A large part of the population of China adhere to this faith. This is particularly true in Tibet and Mongolia. The Manchus were eager to retain the allegiance of the Mongols and Tibetans and therefore encouraged them in the celebration of their rites. Most important among these was the ceremony at the Lama Temple in Peking at New Year to insure the safety of the state and the welfare of the people. The morning of the feast day was given up to chanting mass accompanied by offerings of grain on a triangular shelf of a tripod, whose legs rested on representations of skulls. The afternoon was devoted to a religious dance in masks, representing animals brandishing dagger,

bell and thunderbolt over a small triangular box containing an image, in dough, of the devil. After this had been cut up, the power of the evil one was apparently destroyed and the new year protected against his devices. A procession around the temple ended the ceremony. This temple had once been a princely palace, that in which the great Emperor Ch'ien-lung had been born. When he had reached the throne, he gave his birthplace to the Lamaists from a superstitious fear that, if otherwise occupied by men and women, the luck of the place which had produced one emperor might bring forth a rival for the throne.

A deity whose supposed powers greatly concerned the farmer was the *T'u Ti Lao Yeh*, the local guardian of the ground. Every district had its own. He was thought to be the Constable in Hades of the corresponding district. Every village in the district might have a temple dedicated to him and every farm and garden usually had a small shrine for his worship. The village temple was much like other houses of the place, but sometimes better-looking. Sometimes it consisted of but a single room, but often there was a smaller room on each side of this. An altar at one end of the main room faced south, if possible, otherwise the east. On it was an image of the god. The poorer families of the place frequently kept their ancestral tablets there beside the idol.

The temple served the purposes of a public meeting place. Usually it was also the school room of the village. The smaller rooms sometimes became the home of a caretaker or possibly of the school-teacher. The farmers round about lived in the village, which was a self-governing unit, so recognized by the imperial authorities. The small shrines in the fields usually represented miniature houses and were made of brick or stone, covered with roofs of tiles. On one gable one could often see a red sun represented; on the other a crescent moon. Under the eaves, on the south side preferably, there would be a small arch in which the image of the god was placed on an altar. When the rains were seasonable and the crops good, a thank-offering of incense and lighted candles would be placed before the image both in the private shrine and in the public temple.

If there were pests in the garden or orchard or if drought destroyed the field crops, the peasants were apt to punish the god, not only withholding the offerings but sometimes taking the image out into the burning sunshine that the god might realize how uncomfortable the heat was. When a swarm of locusts in the nineties of the last century darkened the sky over Nanking and seemed to have destroyed everything edible in the surrounding country, one little garden outside the T'ai'ping Gate was spared. An old peasant woman to whom the garden belonged bought incense and candles and made the deity a thank-offering. But, alas! the next day another swarm appeared and the garden was consumed. Then the old woman upbraided her god and cursed him.

The worship of the *T'u Ti Lao Yeh* was recognized by the laws of the Manchu empire and much earlier in the *Li Chi* or "Record of Rites" it was specifically required. That work also prescribed other ceremonies of interest to the farmer, among which was the "sending away of the ox of earth." This ceremony, still observed in places in China, resembled the sending away of the scape-goat by the ancient

Hebrews. An image of an ox made of clay was carried out of the town to bear away the hostile influences of the cold, so destructive to life of grain or animal.

Thus, in all these rites, the Chinese from peasant to Emperor recognized the importance of agriculture to the welfare of the people and the state.

Berkeley, California
Sept. 6, 1935.

E. T. WILLIAMS.

ON THE BUILDING HISTORY OF THE PAO SHU T'A, HANGCHOW

By J. PRIP-MOLLER, F.I.A. (DENMARK)

In the chronicles two different accounts are given of the origin of the present ruinous pagoda, and as usual in the writings of Chinese history, the origin of the name of the pagoda plays no small nor uninteresting part in these accounts. Not having the original chronicles to hand, I am indebted to Dr. Robert F. Fitch of Hangchow for a series of informations regarding the pagoda gathered from various chronicles and sent to me, informations the contents of which are here given in condensed form.

Version I. During the Wu Yüeh period in the K'ai Pao reign (968-976) the governor Wu Yen Shuang 吳延爽 requested a priest Shan Tao 善導 to build a "Shê Li" of nine storeys on the summit of Pao Shih Shan. During the Hsien P'ing period of the Sung Dynasty (998-1003) the priest Yung Pao Shuai Shu 永保帥叔 repaired it *reducing it by two storeys*. According to a topography of the Ch'eng Hua period (1465-1487) Pao was an ascetic and people called him Shuai Shu 帥叔. Because of this the pagoda was named Pao Shu Yung Ch'uang 保叔湧幢, The Uprising Pagoda of Pao Shu.

Version II. According to the "Lesser Officials" Prince Ch'ien Hung Shu 錢宏俶 went to court and was detained in K'ai Fêng. The common people were in fear for his safe return and therefore erected the pagoda calling it Pao Shu T'a 保俶塔, The Pagoda Protecting Shu.

We may take both of these accounts as giving identical information as to the date of erection of the original pagoda, inasmuch as we know that prince Ch'ien Hung Shu got his imperial grant as a prince in A.D. 952 and resigned A.D. 978, a period which includes the one mentioned in Version I as the time of erection. The two accounts differ, however, in this respect, that the first mentions a repair which had taken place about 30 years after the erection, and links the origin of the name of the pagoda up with this repair, while Version II speaks of no repair and finds in the original erection sufficient explanation of the name. As will be seen from the following the building history of the structure leaves room for the correctness of

both versions, even to an extent which may make the question of what name to employ a matter of mere choice rather than one of scientific correctness.

Before discussing such features of the pagoda structure which tend to corroborate the tales of the chronicles, a short description of the narrow site on which it stands ought to be given, as this site clearly shows that the pagoda (*i.e.* the one erected in the K'ai Pao period) does not represent the first structural activities in this place.

The podium on which the pagoda stands presents two distinctly different parts. To the West and North-west the edges thereof are cut in the living rock, the cutting having been done in a rough manner, which clearly shows the marks of the pointed chisel, especially on the surface of the podium. At the North corner of the West side three steps likewise cut out of the rock lead to the top of the podium. The direction of the edges of these steps as well as of the North-west side of the podium indicates that here we have a podium of a structure considerably smaller than the present one and somewhat to the West of this. The remaining sides of the present podium, which is about 65 cm. high, are built of rectangular cut granite blocks of a rough dressing, which joins the original rock-cut podium just South of the steps (Photo 1.) and at the West corner of the North side. At these two points the old podium disappears into the new.

The surface of the old podium is visible over an area limited by these two points and the lower foundations of the present structure and shows a slightly raised (about 8 cm.) platform inside the edge of the podium as seen on photo 2 where growing grass indicates its curve and on photo 1 just to the left of the steps. The contour of this raised part which comes to light just at the top of the steps disappears under the present pagoda structure at about the middle of the North side. It follows the straight line-edge of the old podium as an unbroken curve, which indicates a former, circular platform. Just inside the edge, five, and traces of the sixth, irregular flat holes are found, about 3-4 cm. deep and some 25 cm. wide. They follow in their placing the curved edge at a mutually somewhat even distance, two of them being clearly discernible on photo 2 where they stand white against the dark coloured rough surface of the podium.

The erection of the present structure to the East and off the centre of the old platform, allows us to see that nearer to this centre no other traces of raised or of sunk foundations are to be found. The location of the steps but a few centimetres from the circular edge points of necessity to the accessibility of the platform and renders the existence of an original massive structure here impossible. The whole arrangement, together with the small rock cut pond mentioned below, may point to the existence originally of an open platform of worship rather than to a foundation for a structure.

To the West the level of the ground surrounding the pagoda is just at the foot of the few steps above described, while to the East two flights of steps lead from the podium down to the ground, as seen on photo 3. The lower of these flights is cut in the living rock and may have continued in a similar flight or in a gentle slope leading to the old podium, which as previously stated was further to the West than the present structure. The erection of this to the East has necessitated a more "concentrated" arrangement of the approach here and

an extension of the podium, and the upper part of the access has been replaced (and covered) by the steps and platform now found, built of cut granite blocks. To the South of the pagoda a square basin with an overflow is cut into the rock and is undoubtedly a part of the older, now unknown scheme. The wall of the extended podium of the present pagoda rises flush with the North wall of the basin, as seen on photo 4.

As to the pagoda itself it is an octagonal brick built structure of seven full storeys and a top, which carried, and were concealed by, a wooden roof for the construction and further support of which big beams projected above the seventh storey. Holes for these beams are still to be clearly seen in this upper cone. Above it the old pinnacle still raises its five disks. The structure is massive and not accessible from within. Its height may be estimated as being nearly forty meters, the pinnacle not included. The width of the pagoda side at the ground storey is about 2.65 meters. The offsets of each of the five lower storeys, not counting in the ground floor, are but small in comparison with the preceding lower one, while the opposite is the case with the remaining two topmost storeys. From photo 5 it will be seen, how these, being the 6th and 7th of the pagoda, are considerably smaller in width than those below, and this to such an extent, that it breaks the continuity of the graceful contour of the building, at least when seen at close quarters. When viewed from a greater distance this feature adds to the slender effect of the pagoda, but even if the old builders had in view such aesthetic possibilities, the building history of the pagoda makes it not unlikely at all that there have been strong structural reasons behind it as well.

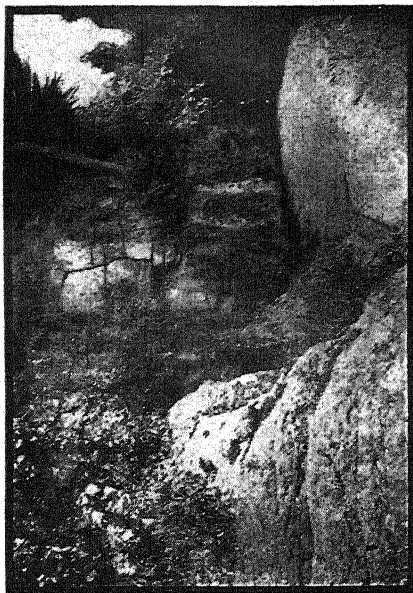
The key to the history of the present pagoda is to be found in the fact, that structurally it consists of two distinct parts, an inner massive core and over this an outer ornamental coat, a kind of ashlar wall built around the inner form. In the lowest storey this ashlar wall is about 70 cm. thick, while an estimate of the thickness in the upper storeys, where possible to make it, gives a thickness of about one meter or may be a little more.

The inner core is a completely massive structure, of which now only the lowermost storey is fully exposed to view. In the upper storeys it is visible in part, in such places where the ashlar wall has come down in the course of time due to an insufficient bonding to the core. The bricks employed in the construction of this core are of a type different from that seen in the ashlar wall, the inner ones being of a size considerably smaller than the outer. Exceptions are a few layers right at the base, where especially heavy bricks are used.

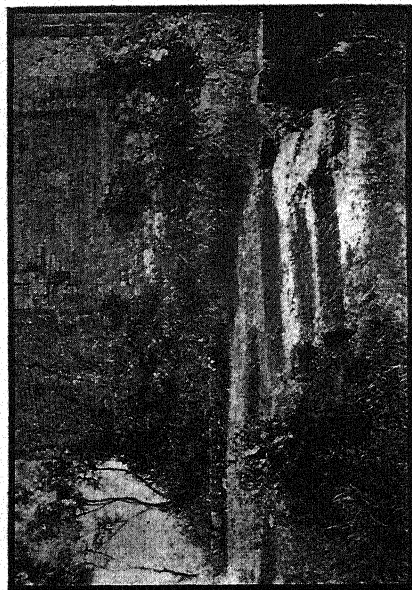
At the groundfloor the core shows an ornamentation of a plain and simple character made in the bricks. The corners are adorned with flat pilasters of not more than 7 cm. projection, carrying above a lintel and sets of brackets imitated in bricks and of similarly flat relief. There is one set above the pilasters and one in the centre of the bay. Between the pilasters the wall recedes to a depth of 13 cm., forming a panel which, however, is flat and without any ornamental treatment whatever. On top of the brackets a cornice projects, the ends of which are considerably tilted above the pilasters. Its projection is effected by layers of brick laid saw-tooth wise with alternating layers of ordinarily laid bricks. Traces are found of plaster



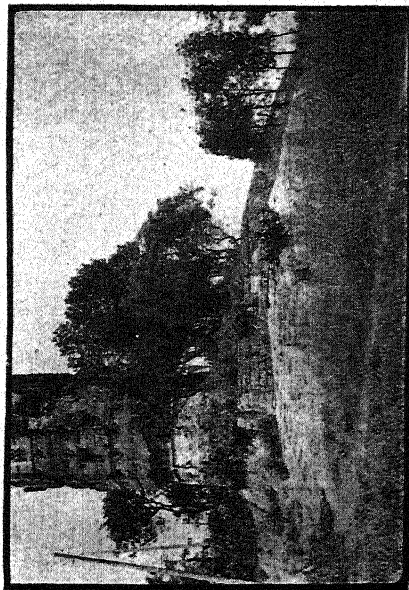
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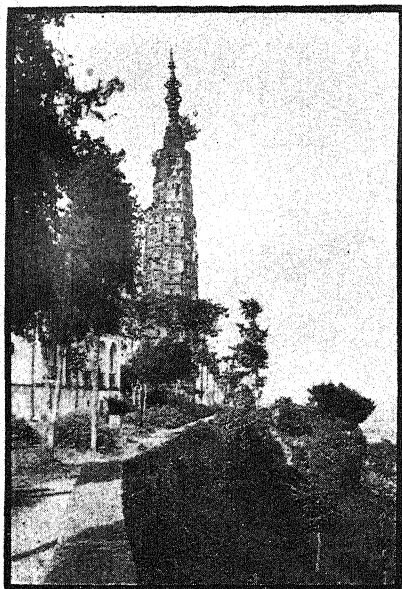
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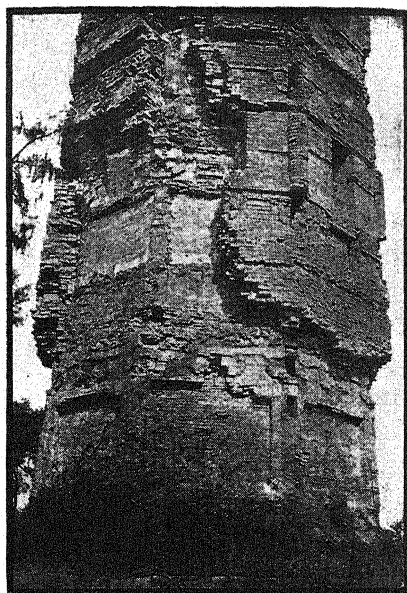
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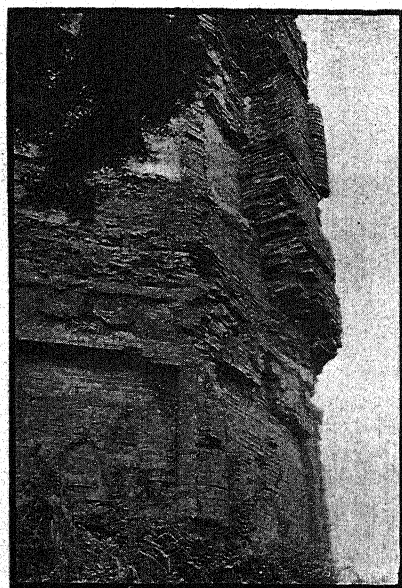
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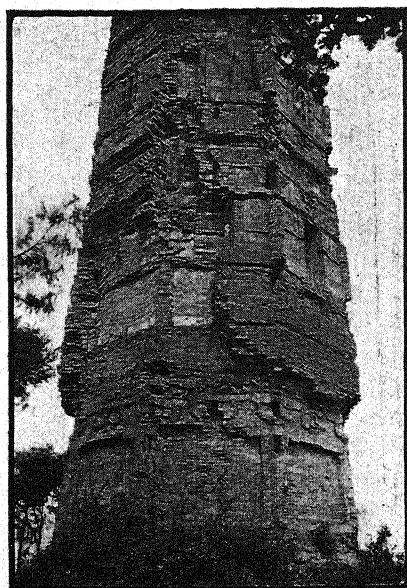
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coats of lime and clay and of coats of red paint covering the imitated wooden details.

As regards the workmanship this is of a rather primitive and cheap character. Every 3rd or 4th or 5th layer in the panels of this lower storey is a header course, but no attention has been paid to the breaking of the vertical joints nor to the bonding between the panels and the brick frame which separates them from the pilasters. Between these and the frames no bond is made, except in one layer in the whole height of the panel. Occasionally a header is found in the pilasters, introduced in every 4th or 5th course. The bricks are well baked and of two sizes, the mortar being of pure lime.

In this inner core no wood has been employed to effect the projection of the cornice. Of the holes now found in the middle of each of the bracket sets, (see photo 6) the ones between the pilasters may indicate, that they are later additions, roughly cut and more or less off the centre as they are. The same is in all probability the case with those over the pilasters, but here it is more difficult to ascertain on account of the ruinous state of the brickwork. Below the brackets all the pilasters show an oblong hole the smooth edges of which together with the correct placing in the middle of the pilaster may point to their being part of the original structure; in face of other structural properties of the pagoda it seems, however, that all these holes actually are part of the restoration scheme, the pilaster holes as the most important and visible having received special attention in their cutting.

In contrast to the plain design of the inner core the design of the outer facing, (which starts only just above the saw-tooth cornice just described), shows an advanced technique and a developed artistic feeling displayed in details characteristic of the Sung dynasty. The corner pilasters are semicircular and boldly projecting, made of special moulded bricks, two together forming one layer. Their bonding to the wall behind is effected by wooden planks introduced instead of a brick course every 6th layer or so. The bracket design of the ashlar wall is considerably more elaborate than that found on the core, the brackets of the former having two layers of projecting arms as against but one in those on the latter. Holes left in their centres indicate clearly that the parts projecting at a right angle to the wall, have all been of wood. Except in the lowest storey of the facing, i.e. the second of the pagoda, where a kind of deep niche is sunk in the centre of each bay, the bays above are all adorned with shallow panels, each divided into nine smaller niches by bricks on edge, the whole arrangement giving a window like appearance and greatly adding to the impression of lightness which the structure conveys. At various places the ashlar wall has slid down, and it has thereby been possible to establish that the core continues through several of the storeys of the present pagoda. It is interesting to note, that some of the niches in the 7th storey—in contrast to those below—have arches, a peculiar feature which was also found on the Thunder peak pagoda.

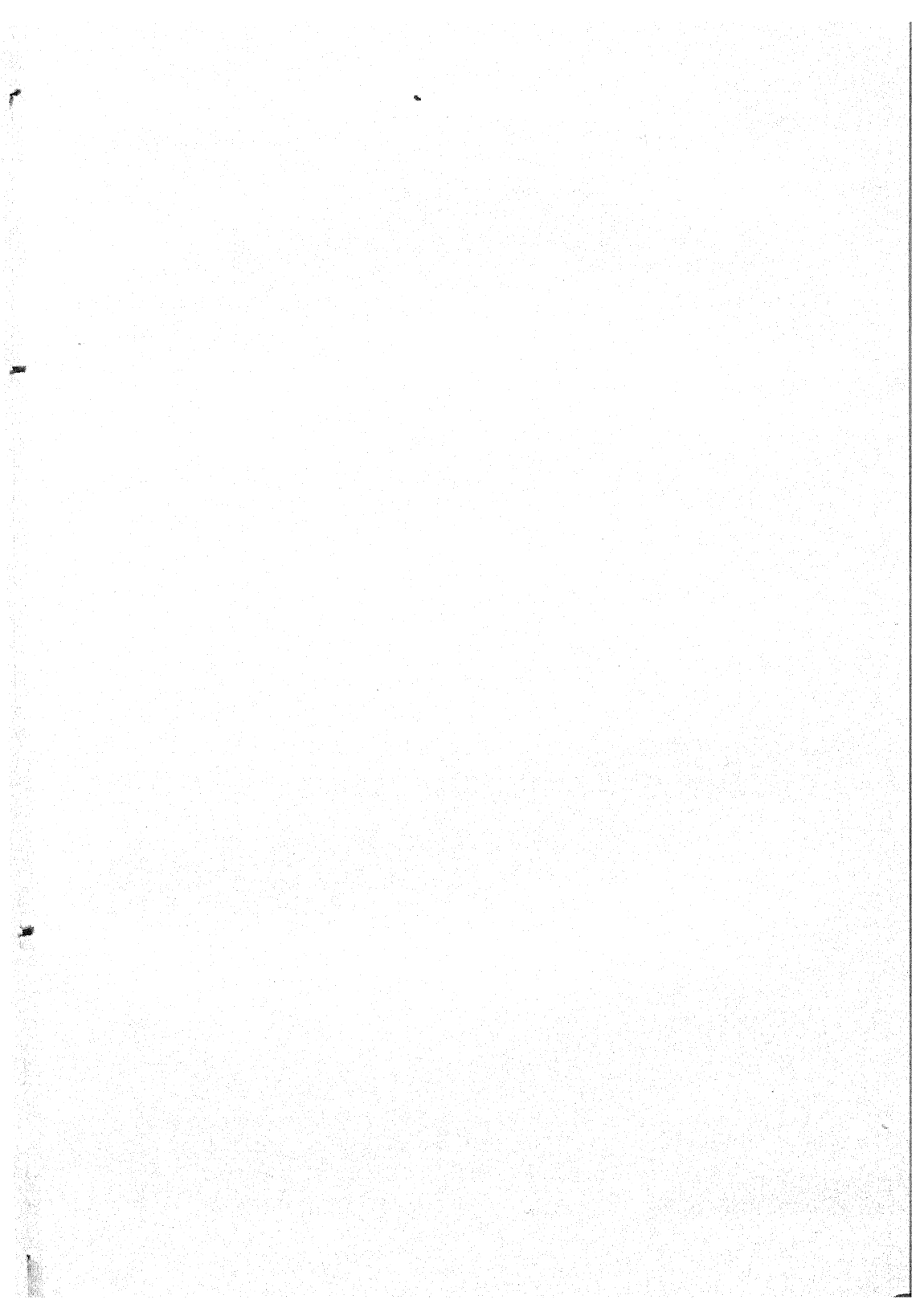
In the difference between the core and the ashlar wall lies the story of the Needle Pagoda. A glance at the photos accompanying this article will make it clear, that the part of the pagoda, above described as the core, actually is an old original structure, which we

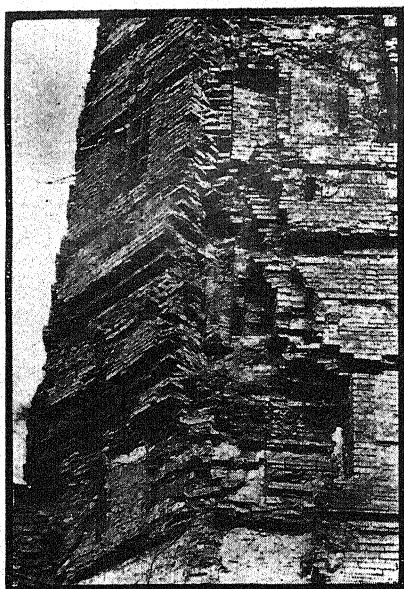
may assume has been built during the K'ai Pao period (968-976), and the outside ashlar wall, the facing of a more ornamental and elaborate character, is nothing but a later "restoration"; in all likelihood the one said to have been made by the monk Pao Shu in the Hsien P'ing period (998-1003). It will be remembered, that Version II relates how the "common people" built a pagoda as a kind of offering to help their prince out of a difficult situation. The details of the old, inner pagoda, plain and simple as they are, underline rather than contradict the possible truth of this narrative. Version I, on the other hand, tells of the restoration of a pagoda, *built at the same time as the above and in the same place*, and adds the interesting information, that by this restoration, the pagoda was made seven instead of nine storeys.

A closer study of the two pagodas, the one inside the other, reveals, that the "reducing in height" from nine to seven storeys in all probability has been a reduction of the storeys *merely in number, and not in actual height*. On the basis of a comparison of the estimated heights of the two pagodas, there is in fact good reason to believe that the now existing, "reduced", "outer" pagoda, actually may have been about 2 to 4 meters *higher* than the old inner nine storey pagoda, which was to be "reduced". The "height reduction", which naturally has been a question of the right *Fengshui*, thereby receives an unusual interest, as the structure itself furnishes the proof that its propitious qualities have been connected, not so much with its actual height as with the number of the storeys into which this height was divided. The way in which the restoration has been erected also shows that it was done, not on account of any pressing need thereof,—as the structure to be repaired actually was so well built and strong that it could be used as the base and core for the new heavier one to be built around it,—and this also fits well in with the short interval of about 30 years, which according to Version I is said to have elapsed between the erection and the restoration. In connection with the reducing of numbers of storeys it is worth noting that the Thunder Peak Pagoda at the South end of the West Lake built in 975 and referred to previously underwent a similar reduction; from the thirteen storeys planned for to five actually built.

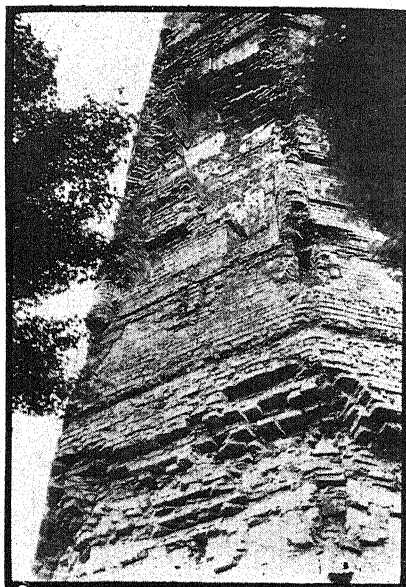
EXPLANATION OF PHOTOS.

Photo 7. This illustrates probably better than any other picture the peculiar construction of the pagoda. Thanks to the complete disappearance of a full storey of the outer shell, it is easy to see the design and construction of the ground storey of the core and its connection with the facing above. It will be understood that the restorer, Pao Shu, has been using the old saw-tooth cornice as a support for his new coating, and has done so not only in the lowest storey but in all the subsequent ones. He has further utilized the offsets, with which the sunk panels of the oldest pagoda supplied him, as points of support for his heavy wall. Of real bonding there seems to have been nothing, and the old cornices have had the better part of the load to bear. This and some of the other photos show how this has been too much for them, so that they in places have been "shaved" off flush with the wall, from which they were projecting,—

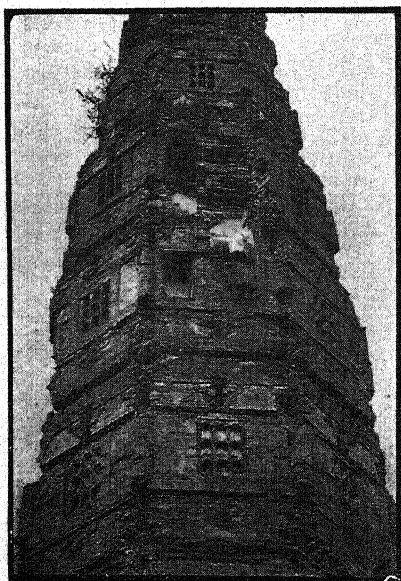




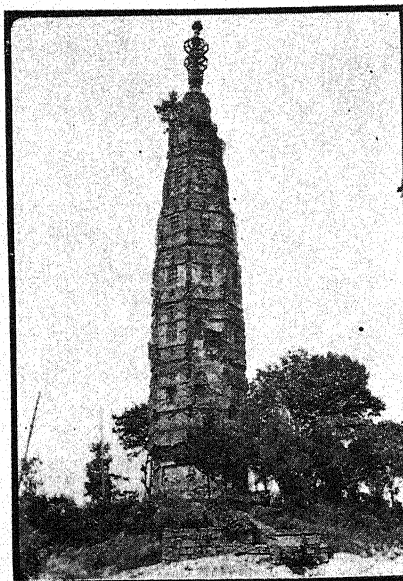
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and it is in fact more than a wonder that the whole outer coat has not slid off centuries ago.

Photo 8 shows the same part of the structure but gives a fuller view of the surrounding brickwork.

Photo 9. The flat pilaster of the inner structure can here be seen as far up as the third storey of the core, and shows that the top of the third storey here is just slightly above the top of the second storey of the outer facing. The absence of the latter higher up on the same side discloses that the bracket course over the fifth storey of the inner pagoda is about 1 meter *below* that crowning the 4th storey of the outer. This roughly indicates the height of the inner, nine storey pagoda which, if actually not smaller by 2 to 3 meters, hardly has exceeded that of the present seven storey one. From the photo will be gathered that the rectangular niches of the facing have been made so deep as to necessitate their cutting into the inner core.

The ruin gives abundant evidence that the restored pagoda has been accessible throughout all its storeys. Photos 10 and 11 make this clear beyond doubt. The pagoda has been, what is generally termed a Gallery-pagoda, (see sketch of reconstruction*), and the steps connecting the one gallery with the other have been ingeniously concealed in the new wall built around the old massive core. This must have created certain difficulties in the lowest storey of the facing where the thickness of the wall is only about 70 cm. or so, and how these difficulties have been overcome cannot be ascertained today, as the shell has slid down completely in the only place where the access must have been,—and undoubtedly just because of that. Higher up it has been much more easy to build the steps inside the ashlar wall, as its thickness here gradually grows to 1 meter or more, due to the difference in degree of slope between the walls of the inner core and the outer facing.

The arrangement is fully discernible on photo 10 showing the place of the stair between the 2nd and the 3rd storey, but still more so on photo 11 where the stair from 4th to 5th storey is seen. The panels, behind which the stairs are concealed, show a design different from that of the others. Here two deep niches are sunk, the one beside the other, the left one on the 4th storey in this case being the empty one and leading nowhere, while the right one forms the access to the stair, which terminates in the left niche on the next floor, (the dark niche on photo). Thanks to the comparatively narrow space on which the stair builders have had to operate, the outer shell covering the staircase has been too thin and has come down long ago. The white plastered walls seen in the picture are those of the inner walls of the stairhall. On the same photo, 6th storey the left side of the pagoda, it may be seen how the doorway of the stairhall from 6th to 7th storey has remained intact, the chief reason no doubt being that here the wall has been more than sufficiently thick to allow of a proper stair as well as a strong outer wall.

The 6th and 7th storeys are those above referred to, which suddenly spring back from the rest of the storeys. As the stairhalls at the same time become wider than in the storeys below, the inner core at this height must either (1) have disappeared, (2) never have

* See Frontispiece.

reached as far up as to here (3) have been thin enough to allow at the same time for the big offset as well as the thicker walls. As we have good reason to believe (as above mentioned), that the nine storey pagoda was but a few meters lower than the present one, point (2) is out of the discussion and really makes point (3) impossible at the same time. The two last storeys of the old pagoda reaching to the height estimated, could not for structural reasons be so thin as to remain intact and still allow for the 6th and 7th storey of the new to be built as they are. There remains in the writer's opinion but the first alternative, viz.: that the builders took down the top of the old pagoda. The reason for doing this must be that the placing of the heavy iron pinnacle with its five disks and representing a considerable load was not possible in the old brickwork. Its lower end had to go deep down in the inside of the pagoda in order to make it withstand the pressure enacted on its exposed part. The top of the old pagoda therefore had to be demolished to a level corresponding to that of the top of the 5th storey of the new one, the pinnacle set in its place, and the two last storeys, the 6th and 7th of new brickwork, built around it. Further the double advantage was hereby gained, of being able to build deep and at the same time strong stairways in these two last storeys, and of moving all the outer walls nearer to the centre. By the latter expedient the load of the new top became transferred as far as possible to the old inner core, and the new outer shell, which had enough to do in carrying itself, was correspondingly relieved.

Photos 11 and 12 show how each story has a bracket course below as well as above. Between the upper course of one storey and the lower one of the next one above is a deep horizontal groove in the wall, curving slightly upwards at the corners. Similarly straight grooves, though not so deep and rough edged are found just above the lower and below the upper bracket course of each individual storey. While the character of these last mentioned grooves indicates beams, originally embedded in the wall but later decayed, the big middle one by its size and shape indicates the point where a curved tile roof has joined the wall. For each storey such roof has sprung out from the pagoda covering the gallery underneath and chiefly, if not entirely, supported by the bracket construction. The curved lines of the roof covering the colonnade around the ground floor are clearly indicated by the lower edges of the ashlar wall resting on the broken cornice of the inner core.

The bracket courses under the "windows" have carried a balcony or gallery, the floor of which has been level with the groove at the upper edge of the courses.

The appearance of the pagoda must therefore have been somewhat like the representation shown in sketch 13 (frontispiece). This sketch is drawn over the photo 12 thus giving the correct proportions of the structure reconstructed. In character it must have been somewhat like the pagoda of T'ui Kuang Ssü, Soochow, though more elegant in its lines.

As previously mentioned the question of what name to give to the pagoda may be one of choice rather than one of scientific correctness. If we remember that the pagoda built to protect the prince of

Shu, the Pao Shu T'a 保俶塔, was built by the common people who probably were more zealous than the wealthy, it is not unlikely that the old inside one is just this pagoda, while the other shell is the restoration carried out by the monk Pao Shu 保俶 of whom we know that he reduced the height of the pagoda. We also know that the pagoda has been accessible throughout all its storeys, and the "complete" destructions and subsequent rebuildings, later referred to in the chronicles therefore must refer to the woodwork of the galleries and roofs and not to the brick structure proper. It seems to stand in the main as Pao Shu built it around A.D. 1000. The work of his hands being that which today gives the pagoda its character, it ought to bring to him the honour of the pagoda being named after him: Pao Shu T'a 保俶塔.

J. PRIP-MOLLER

HAN KAO-TSU AND HSIANG-YU

By HOMER H. DUBS

The romantic figure of the superb military genius, Hannibal, as he heroically launched his army with such terrible effectiveness against the organized power of Rome, flashes like a vengeful fury across the pages of ancient history. Curiously enough, at the same time, there was in China an even greater military genius, Hsiang the Winged, who handled much larger armies and won victories against much greater odds.

Eleven years after the battle of Cannae, at which Hannibal with a force of only 50,000 soldiers gloriously defeated an army of 80,000 Romans, Hsiang the Winged fought the battle of P'êng-ch'êng. While he had been away chastizing some rebels, an allied force of 560,000 men had captured his capital, P'êng-ch'êng, in eastern China. They took possession of his treasures and his women, and banqueted in his palace. As soon as the news reached him, he started back to his capital by forced marches with 30,000 picked men, undaunted by the greatly superior number of his enemies. His arrival at daybreak was a complete surprise to the allies. Their forces had been scattered. Each allied general waited for the others to act. Hence the vastly smaller force won the victory. The battle lasted all day, for Hsiang the Winged would not be content with anything less than a complete and crushing victory. He pursued the fleeing troops and drove them into the streams which crossed the region. They turned and fled south, but the mountains compelled them to turn northwards again. By the afternoon they found a river ahead of them. Panic drove the crowd of fleeing soldiers into the river, drowning so many that the river was literally dammed up with the dead bodies. The dead alone in that battle numbered a hundred thousand.

This wonderful victory may seem impossible, but it is recorded by a trustworthy historian who favored the side that lost in that battle. It was only one incident in the remarkable eight years of

¹ This account, while thrown into the form of a story, is in reality a careful historical study of the way that Han Kao-tsu fought his way to the throne of China. Every incident in the account is taken from the *Shih-chi* or the *Han Shu*, and every speech, including the poem, is translated from those books.—*Author*.

conflict just before the establishment of the Han dynasty. This conflict revolved around two personalities, the wonderfully brilliant military genius, Hsiang the Winged, and his eventual conqueror, an ambitious and tactful farmer boy, who finally founded the great Han dynasty.

I.

Liu the Youngest, 劉季² to give the farmer boy the name used by his friends and relatives, was born during the first Punic War, about 256 B.C. His father was a farmer, living in a hamlet of eastern China. When the boy was born, China was in the throes of a gigantic struggle between the aristocrats of the Chinese states—a struggle in which millions of lives were sacrificed. This struggle ended, when Liu the Youngest was thirty-five years old, with the conquest of the whole country by a vigorous autocrat, who styled himself "The First Emperor." It was the first time that China proper, as we know it now, had been unified under one government. At that period cultured China still centered in the lower Yellow River basin, on whose plains there was a civilization quite equal to that of Rome. These civilized Chinese had fought each other bitterly until the First Emperor's heavy hand had stopped the fighting; armies of a million soldiers were by no means unknown—Hannibal thought it safe to start for Rome with only thirty-six thousand troops. These Chinese were sometimes cruel and inhuman, just as the Romans were at the same period. More humane ideals were being slowly adopted. The Chinese states had been ruled by a proud aristocracy who traced their pedigrees back for a thousand years or more and jealously kept their prerogatives to themselves. They maintained a sharp barrier between themselves and the common people. The First Emperor ruthlessly destroyed this aristocracy. He massacred or removed every noble in the land except his own few nobles. A tireless worker and a stern disciplinarian, he treated even the people of his native state in Shensi with severity, annihilating whole families at the first whisper of any revolutionary tendencies.

In all the years that the First Emperor was on the throne, Liu the Youngest had remained undistinguished. As a young man his handsome figure, his fine nose and beard had made him attractive to the women in his village. He had achieved quite a reputation as a gallant and as a drinker. But in practical affairs he had done little. He seemed to have little liking for farming or for any handicraft, so that his father had been much worried about his future. He was really too ambitious to be a peasant boy. He was always planning and scheming, but little had come of it. Before the First Emperor's death, he had taken little part in the fighting, for his state was on the losing side and he had been merely a commoner. Only aristocrats could get any glory in fighting. With characteristic audacity, he had broken with his family's farmer tradition and had tried to attain official position. A manufactured genealogy, tracing his ancestry back to the kingly line of a great state, helped him but little in a country of aristocratic traditions. He was finally appoint-

² There is no evidence that he was called Liu Pang until after he ascended the throne, when that name was tabooed.

ed merely the chieftain of some hamlets, a sort of country-side justice-of-the-peace and constable. This position gave him a chance to impress the peasants and enabled him to support the farmer women he was so fond of. He even went so far as to devise a special head-dress for himself and have it made by an expert at a neighboring city. But he failed to impress seriously even the subordinate officials in the great city of P'ei. A combination of bantering and audacity merely brought him a few well-placed friends.

He had indeed succeeded in crashing the gate at an important reception given by the magistrate of the whole district. At such an affair the guests were expected to bring a substantial gift for their superior and were given a feast in return. Liu the Youngest falsely announced that he had brought many times as much money as the richest man there. Thus he was given the place of honor, much to the disgust of his friends, the officials, who knew his tricks. On this occasion his audacity and presence of mind impressed the guest of honor so much that he offered his daughter to this handsome Liu the Youngest. The girl was however no great catch—she was uncommonly strong-willed and lacking in tenderness even for maidens of the time. The marriage was duly consummated. Beyond a wife, three or four children and many amorous escapades, Liu the Youngest could not seem to achieve anything substantial. He could not crash the gate to the place his ambition demanded.

In discouragement, he fell into drinking. In his capacity as constable, he could obtain unlimited credit at the country wine-shops, and there he went telling tall stories when in his cups—about his supernatural power and the dragon who visited his mother when he was conceived—so that the country bumpkins were duly impressed. But the enemies he had made by his bantering and contemptuousness brought about his fall. He wounded a friend in play, and, although the friend made no trouble, others brought suit and Liu Chi spent a year in prison. The First Emperor demanded huge levies of workers for his buildings; criminals were frequently sentenced to the First Emperor's slavegangs. One day Liu the Youngest was ordered to convoy a troop of these convict-slaves to the mountain where the First Emperor was preparing his tomb. The degrading nature of the task discouraged the Youngest, and he drank deeply before he set out. He disliked to be ordered to do a common soldier's task, and he sympathized with the unfortunates he had to accompany. On the way the convicts noticed his unsteady condition, and, one by one, slipped off. That meant serious punishment for him, since he was responsible for each and every one of them. In the midst of the march he stopped at a wine shop to reflect and drink deeper. That night, under the influence of liquor, he made an important and kind-hearted decision—he took the bonds off the remaining convicts, saying to them, "Gentlemen, all go away! From this time I too will depart." Neither he nor they could, however, return home. Finally he became the leader of the dozen sturdiest and took to the life of a robber and outlaw.

Even in this outcast condition his ambition kept prodding him into doing what no one else would dare. One night, as the band was passing through the marsh, the man in front ran back frightened, for right across the path there stretched a huge snake. In a country

where demons, vampires, and were-wolves abounded, a snake could not fail to mean something terrible. But Liu the Youngest had been drinking as usual and dreaming of grandeur, so he merely roared out, with a drunkard's emphasis, "When a strong man walks along, what is there to fear?" He drew his sword, stalked ahead of his cringing followers, cut the snake in two, and pushed it out of the way. Then he went ahead of his troop through the marsh until he fell asleep from sheer drunkenness. His superstitious followers told the story over and over until it was said that when a later passer-by came to the place where the snake had been, he saw an old woman weeping for her dead son and that the old woman had vanished when she was spoken to. That story gained Liu the Youngest followers; he took care not to contradict it.

II.

In the ninth year that Hannibal had been in Italy fighting the Romans, the First Emperor died. Court intrigue put a weakling on his throne as the Second Emperor and immediately rebellion broke out in several places at once. Loyal generals at first defeated the rebels, but they were handicapped by intrigues at the capital. Slowly the rebellions gained strength.

In that year Liu the Youngest was forty-eight. Now at last he found his opportunity. With rebellion in the air, any town or magistrate found on the wrong side would be massacred. The magistrate of P'ei saw the rebels gaining on every hand, and feared that he too would suffer. He decided that he had better join them in order to secure a good position with the victors. But he was not sure of his troops nor of the townspeople. Hence Liu the Youngest's friends among the officials easily persuaded the magistrate to invite the outlaw back. In unruly times a band of sturdy swashbucklers could easily coerce the townspeople. But, after the message had been sent, the magistrate became still more fearful. What if Liu the Youngest should remember the indignities and punishments the magistrate had inflicted upon him! What if . . . So when the Youngest and his band of a few hundred men reached the city, he found the city gates closed and the city wall defended. His friends inside the town felt still more fearful—the magistrate would surely kill them first. They fled over the city wall bringing with them precious information about the state of feeling inside the city. Now the Youngest's habit of making plans served him well. He shot a message over the city wall tied to an arrow. In it he reminded the people of P'ei that they would be massacred by the first rebel army that came along, unless they had previously joined the rebels and had selected an *able* leader. He stressed the ability required in their leader, and advised them to kill their magistrate and open the city gates.

The city elders had known Liu the Youngest from his childhood. They knew that he would keep his men in hand, for his family was near. Better a fellow-townsmen, though a robber, than an irresolute, chicken-hearted magistrate who would be sure to get them into trouble. The elders spoke to the young men; there was a tumult, after which the magistrate was found dead and someone opened the

city gates. The Youngest entered in triumph. Who was to be the next magistrate? P'ei was an important place; when the Second Emperor's generals arrived, whoever was in charge must shoulder the blame for the uprising—if he failed, he would be tortured to death together with his family and relations. Every available person declined enthusiastically in favor of Liu the Youngest. He too had his misgivings, but he had vast plans too, so, after declining three times as was customary, Liu the Youngest was made the magistrate. Thereafter he was addressed as the Lord of P'ei.

He now had a title, but everyone knew of his farmer extraction. His ambition did not, however, let him rest. In these troubled times, this position might easily lead to more. He armed three thousand young men of the district, sacrificed to the gods of war, carefully anointed his standards and war-drums with the blood of the sacrifices, and chose red as his color. His followers told that the old woman mourning in the marsh for her son had said that her son was the son of the White god and that he had been killed by the son of the Red god. White was the color of the First Emperor's dynasty. There was a popular belief that, just as red fire melts the shining white metal, so the red would take the place of the white on the throne. Red was an excellent color to choose, although maybe over-ambitious.

A month later the Second Emperor's army came to P'ei. The great generals were, however, all busy elsewhere. Liu the Youngest had meanwhile made his preparations. His over-indulgence in wine had left him almost overnight with the coming of responsibility and opportunity. The day after the army arrived, the Youngest surprised the enemy by a sortie and routed them. This success brought more recruits and a larger following. A month later the Youngest controlled also the surrounding cities and had subordinate generals anxious to win his favor. One of them defeated and killed the Governor of the province. The Youngest was becoming an important figure.

But he was only a commoner, in spite of his genealogy. He could not even claim the aristocracy of learning. Elsewhere throughout the land, descendants of the former kings were renewing their states and the scions of the former aristocracy were arming.

III.

Among them two men, uncle and nephew, who were later both to become famous, had been starting another rebellion. They belonged to one of the best families in their state, one which for generations had produced the commander-in-chief of the army. The nephew, Hsiang the Winged 羽項, as he called himself, was more than six feet tall. Despising learning and other pursuits, he had trained himself untiringly in the arts of combat until he was a master in its every phase. He was therefore feared by his acquaintances. In physical strength he was above the average. More than anything else he had, however, studied the art of marshalling armies. In no phase of the grand art would he be inferior to anyone, for he knew it to be the means of gaining unlimited power. Indeed, at the end of

his life he could say that he had never been beaten in battle—a boast that even Hannibal could not make. He was generous to a fault. He had the good breeding that only noble birth and training can give, but he showed the disregard of human life that comes natural to the trained fighting man. Furthermore he possessed an intense pride in his ability, together with an insatiable jealousy of anyone else who might seem to rival him in achievement.

Good breeding might hold such passions in check, but they inevitably broke out. A fight which ended disastrously for his opponent made him and his uncle flee to another part of the country. There the two, because of their ancestors, became well and favorably known. With the rise of rebellion, the Governor of the province called them in to help him rebel, but the two coolly murdered the Governor, slaughtered a hundred of his followers, and took possession of his territory and his army. Then they quickly made themselves powerful, for everyone knew of their ancestors and so readily accepted them as the rulers of the region. Soon they were ready to set up a king for the country. They sought the grandson of the beloved and lamented King Huai who had been tricked into captivity by the First Emperor some ninety years before. They found him a mere peasant, earning his living as a shepherd. In spite of his boorishness, the Winged, his uncle, together with some other generals and nobles gave him his grandfather's name, and declared him to be the great King of the state.

Meanwhile Liu the Youngest, as the Lord of P'ei, had not been idle. He had captured some cities and had enlisted the soldiers from those places. He had his failures too—one of his generals, who had been left in charge of an important city, had turned against him at the summons of the first aristocrat who came to challenge the Youngest's authority. The Youngest could not retake the place. He never, however, forgot an injury or a benefit. When Hsiang the Winged and his uncle were winning victories against the Second Emperor's greatest generals, Liu the Youngest, who as a commoner needed aristocratic support, attached himself to them. They welcomed him and gave him troops wherewith to drive out his rebellious general. The Youngest then made it a point to become a good friend of the Winged, going with him on his campaigns and admiring him extravagantly. Together with him he took part in setting up the new King.

This civil government and the court that had been set up, however, irked the Winged. He could not master politics; when he wanted something, he went straight after it, quite regardless of whoever and whatever might be in the way. If anyone resisted him, he merely fought the harder. Trusting in his great strength and matchless ability, he saw no reason for deferring to others. When his uncle had been defeated and killed by the Second Emperor's generals, the other generals of the new King found the Winged hard to get along with. In order to maintain peace, King Huai himself took command of all the armies, distributing titles freely among the generals. Hsiang the Winged became a duke and Liu the Youngest was made a marquis. He was climbing into the nobility, but the aristocrats remembered his base extraction.

IV.

The rebellion had by this time gained considerable headway, but the Second Emperor's stronghold inside the mountain passes guarding southern Shensi in the west remained untouched. Here was the capital of the dynasty and the region from which it had sprung. To gain this place, the new King Huai covenanted to make its king whoever conquered it. One general had dared to enter the passes, but had been utterly crushed. Thereafter no one dared to venture there, except Hsiang the Winged and Liu the Youngest. The Winged wanted to avenge his uncle's defeat and death; the Youngest's ambition made him willing to dare what no one else would try. The older generals and the King deliberated which one should be sent. The Youngest had carefully made good friends at the court; the Winged, by his haughty demeanor, had shown that he cared for them not at all. Yet he was much the better general. But the older generals saw that this task required more than military skill. If the people of Shensi were aroused to defend the passes guarding their state, it could not be taken. The First Emperor, by his harsh laws and severe exactions, had alienated them; the Second Emperor, by his favoritism, by the murder of his nobles, and by his general injustice, had injured himself still more. The generals recalled the Winged's quick and ungovernable temper. He had acquired a reputation as a terrible warrior when he had utterly massacred every living thing at the sack of Hsiang-ch'êng. If he were sent to Shensi, the people might rise to defend their homes, so that the result would be very doubtful. On the other hand, Liu the Youngest, who was not such a skilled general, had been seeking the common people's support and had acquired a reputation for kindness and sympathy. His readiness to listen to anyone, noble or base, had made him popular, for he was friendly to even the least person. If he were sent to Shensi, he might secure the allegiance or at least the tolerance of its people, and thereby crush the dynasty. So the Winged was ordered to go north where the Second Emperor's best generals were besieging another rebel king, and the Youngest was sent to Shensi. Hsiang the Winged stormed and grumbled; but he could not afford to disobey the King's orders just then, for an older man had been made commander-in-chief. If that older general made a serious misstep, it would be possible to do away with him and seize the command, thought the Winged. Besides, the strongest armies were in the north, where the best general was really needed. Liu the Youngest had no force adequate for forcing the passes, so that he would be sure to fail. The proper military course was of course first to defeat the armies, then take the capital.

So the farmer's boy was given his chance. He was not so foolish as to invade the enemy's stronghold immediately; instead he gradually worked his way west, conquering territory, gathering troops, and enlisting other generals. The victories of the Winged in the north kept the Second Emperor's generals away from the Youngest. When he met with rebel troops, he graciously allowed them to join his own troops. One rebel general who refused to join had his army taken away from him by force. His soldiers were glad to join the army of this man who was rapidly becoming famous.

As he was passing through a town, the people of the place would scrutinize and comment upon him. Most armies pillaged wherever they went; this army was restrained, and the people commented favorably upon the difference. At one town, a graybeard patriarch asked to see the leader. He had an important piece of advice to offer about a neighboring granary that could be easily taken. When he was ushered into the presence of the Lord of P'ei, he did not knock his head upon the ground, as the common people did before the aristocrats; instead he merely made a deep bow. The Youngest was squatting on a bench, with two maids washing his feet, and did not notice the old man. The graybeard thereupon became irritated and broke out with reproof, "If your honor certainly wishes to destroy the utterly unprincipled dynasty, it is not fitting that you should interview an outstanding person squatting down." An aristocrat would have taken offence at this plain speaking; the Youngest had long since learned to put up with his elders' whims. He merely gathered up his skirts, and, barefoot as he was, conducted the graybeard to the seat of honor in the hall. He would lose no useful advice by indulging his pride. And he found the advice so worth while that he made its giver the laird of a city and his younger brother a general. The Youngest had found it very profitable to be generous with conquered territories.

So the Youngest gradually fought his way westwards for almost a year, usually victorious, sometimes defeated, for he was no brilliant general, but always strengthening his army for the final thrust. When he approached Shensi, he sent messengers ahead, announcing to the people that he was coming to liberate them from the tyranny of the dynasty. His messengers told of his generosity and the courtesy of his troops. They were "soldiers of righteousness", and they had not come to rob and murder—indeed, they would not touch a thing. They had only come to punish the dynasty for its cruelty and severity. Thereupon the common people rejoiced mightily and the aristocrats grumbled. When soldiers fight only half-heartedly, their generals had best surrender, so city after city yielded to the Youngest without a struggle. The more adventurous and idealistic youths indeed eagerly joined this new leader who promised so much and despised not the humblest soldier.

Instead of attacking the main pass, where defence had been prepared, the Youngest showed his keenness by making a long detour to the south of Shensi where there was an undefended pass. He promptly entered it and made for the capital. Meanwhile there had been a palace revolution; the Prime Minister had assassinated the Second Emperor and had made the dead man's brother the next King. This brother proved, however, a man of resolution; in turn he assassinated the Prime Minister and sent an army to resist the invader in the mountains. Instead of directly engaging in battle with this force, the Youngest tried a trick. A stratagem is better than a battle—a battle could nevertheless be fought later. He sent his men up on the mountain tops with all the flags and banners he could muster or make, showing them as if there were a huge army; then he offered rich rewards to the general if he would surrender. Tempted by this offer, but fearing that his troops would not yield the defence of their homes so easily, the general replied in uncertain

terms. While he was in this half-hearted condition, the Youngest sensed his attitude, sent a flanking force around the mountain, and crushed his army. After fighting and winning another severe battle, his troops came within a day's march of the capital.

All the available troops of the dynasty were either in other parts of the country or had been defeated and dispersed, and so the Youngest achieved something that had never before been done in civilized China—a person of peasant extraction received the surrender of an aristocrat king. The King, as a sensible man, resolved to surrender in hopes of saving something from the wreck of his thirty-day rule, so he came out to meet his conqueror in a plain chariot without any kingly insignia and with a cord tied around his neck in token of surrender. There the descendant of noblemen, kings, and emperors handed to the peasant the imperial seal and other tokens of imperial power. One general wanted to make sure of the rebellion's success by killing the King, but Liu the peasant replied, "When at first King Huai sent me on this expedition, it was certainly because I am able to be generous and indulgent. Moreover, when a man has already surrendered, it would be wrong to kill him." So he merely gave him into custody.

Then the Youngest entered the capital and prepared to enjoy the huge palace of the dynasty and the incalculable riches stored therein. A word from one of his subordinates, however, made him stop. The Youngest was always ready to listen to advice. Hsiang the Winged would be terribly jealous at the news of this success. He would come post-haste to take possession of the capital. If anything were missing, he would exact a terrible vengeance. It would be well to be prepared. So the Youngest sent his grumbling army out of the city for fear that the troops would begin looting, and had the palaces and treasuries sealed up. If nothing were gone, even the Winged could not complain. Meanwhile he tried to gain the goodwill of the people by calling together their elders and leaders, and publicly repealing the severe laws of the dynasty. He promised them instead a code with only three articles: death for murder, proportionate punishment for robbery or assault, and repeal of all other laws. When the people came with offerings of food, he even refused them, preferring to use food from the public granaries. So he won the hearts of the people.

V.

Two months later the Winged, who by this time had made himself the commander-in-chief of the rebels, arrived with a great army. He had been completely victorious in the north and had gathered under his command the armies of the aristocrats. Now he came to put this commoner who had conquered the capital back into his proper place. Resistance at the pass guarding Shensi only served to anger the Winged. One of the Youngest's generals furthermore treacherously inflamed the Winged's mind by telling him falsely that the Youngest had taken the treasures of the dynasty and intended to seat himself upon the throne. The Winged's most trusted advisor, the man he called his Second Father, also counselled the crushing of this scheming upstart before he got too powerful. He saw a grave

danger in the Youngest's popularity with the common people. If they were not kept in their places, something serious might happen.

So Hsiang the Winged feasted his men in the evening in preparation for battle on the morrow. He had four hundred thousand men, whereas Liu the Youngest had only one hundred thousand. There could be no doubt about the result.

Fortunately there was one aristocrat in the Youngest's camp. Chang Liang belonged to a family that for generations had provided the prime ministers of their state. He had been attracted to this able and affable peasant-general, and had even induced his king to lend him to the Youngest. An uncle of Hsiang the Winged was a close friend of Chang Liang. He saw no reason why a noble of such a good family should be destroyed in the ruin that was sure to come upon the Youngest's whole company. In the night he galloped into the Youngest's camp, sought his friend, and begged him to leave, lest he be massacred uselessly with the rest. Chang Liang was only a guest of the Youngest and could honorably leave. But Chang Liang was no coward, and he would not leave even a peasant friend in extreme danger. He went and told the Youngest about his danger, and brought the Winged's uncle along too.

The Youngest's wits leaped into quick action at the danger. Here was a man who must be won at any cost. But what could he offer to the uncle of his prospective conqueror? He expressed great admiration for the Hsiang family, and begged for the honor of being allied in marriage to it. The uncle was flattered and delighted at the honor paid him by the conqueror of Shensi. The magic of the peasant's personality made him forget the Youngest's peasant birth, for had not the Youngest been created a marquis? The Youngest explained that he had not dared to touch even the slightest hair of all the vast riches in the capital, but had sealed them all up awaiting the arrival of the great General Hsiang. The guard at the pass was merely to keep out bandits. Disloyalty to his superior was the last thing that could have been in his mind. Charmed with the loyalty and forethought thus displayed, the Winged's uncle readily promised to use his authority as the head of the Hsiang family in presenting to his brilliant nephew the true situation. He talked with the Winged that same night, told him of the loyalty and forbearance shown by the Youngest, and urged him that it was not right to attack a man who has done such a great service to the cause. The Winged, with characteristic generosity, promised to treat the Youngest well. Thereupon the uncle rode back the same night and told the Youngest to be sure and come to make his apologies early the next morning. Thus a battle was prevented.

Dawn saw the Youngest on his way with Chang Liang and a small following. He was received graciously by the Winged, but with scowls by his followers, especially by the Second Father. Liu the Youngest made abject apologies, and was duly detained for a banquet. Several times in the course of the banquet the Second Father threw significant glances at the Winged and jingled his ornaments meaningfully, thus urging him to give the signal for the death of Liu the peasant. When these glances and motions three times had no effect, the Second Father left the table in disgust, and

sought out one of the Winged's cousins. He said to him, "Our lord is not hard-hearted enough in character. Do you enter, dance a sword-dance, and thereupon attack the Lord of P'ei and kill him. Otherwise you and yours will as a result become his captives." The young man entered, drank a toast to the health of guest and host, and said, "In our camp there is nothing for me to use in entertaining you. I crave permission to dance a sword-dance." When the Winged, who loved arms, nodded permission, the cousin drew his sword and proceeded to dance.

But the Winged's uncle was quick-witted too; he saw the danger, immediately drew his sword, and likewise rose to dance. He was not going to allow the hospitality of his family to be stained by any rash acts on the part of youth. He carefully kept himself between Liu the Youngest and the dancer, so that the dancer could not attack his future relative, the Youngest. Meanwhile Chang Liang had slipped out and told Liu's followers outside about what was happening in the tent. One of them, a fellow-villager of the Youngest, a man of great strength and courage, struck down the guards and forced his way into the tent, resolved to die with his master. Hsiang the Winged, with an aristocrat's admiration of courage and strength, approved the daring act, and offered this man wine and meat. As the man ate and drank, he kept his sword and buckler ready for action. The Winged thereupon admired him still more, and gave him a huge bumper of wine. His tongue thereby loosened, the country bumpkin started to reprimand the great lord for thinking of attacking the Youngest. The aristocrat received these reproaches in kind silence, but the Youngest saw that things might easily go too far. So he excused himself from the table and called away his courageous warrior.

Once outside the tent, Liu the Youngest lost no time. Finding a horse, he rode away to his troops with only four followers, seeking unfrequented paths over the mountains. He left his chariot and escort behind him, together with Chang Liang to make his apologies. The Winged, with aristocratic grace, accepted the apologies, together with the princely jewel that accompanied them. The Second Father struck his jewel to the floor, saying, "We and ours are now captives of the Lord of P'ei." Several days later, the Winged led his troops into the capital, killed the king who had surrendered, looted and burned the palaces and city. The great library with its wooden books burned for some weeks, so that the literary treasures of ancient China perished in that fire. The Chinese historian wrote of this event, "Nothing of what the Winged passed by was without injury or destruction, so that the people were gravely disappointed in their hopes."

VI.

Next came the division of the conquered territory. This time the Winged would have no interference by any politicians. He had won the victory by the power of his sword; his army was around him—who could say him nay? King Huai was politely asked about the division, and replied that the covenant about the kingship of Shensi must be respected. But the Winged declared that King Huai

had done nothing to win the victory; why then should he have any say about the disposition of its fruits? The Winged and his deceased uncle had themselves set up King Huai; whose authority was the greater? So the victorious general himself dictated the division of the spoils. He naturally assigned the lion's share to himself, making himself King and Lord Protector with a large territory. Then he gave the choicest portions to the most successful generals among his allies and subordinates, displacing, in so doing, several hereditary kings, who were given other territories. Those kings who had done nothing towards the victory were not given any kingdoms. King Huai was given the title of Emperor and sent to a distant capital, with secret orders that he should be assassinated upon his arrival. Liu the Youngest, instead of being made King of Shensi, was made King of Han, a region to the southwest of Shensi, to which the First Emperor had frequently banished criminals. Lest he become too powerful, Shensi was divided into three kingdoms to serve as a buffer between the territory of the Youngest and that of the Winged. The three greatest generals of the Second Emperor, whom the Winged had persuaded to rebel against their ruler, were made its kings. It was a military man's division, with the plums going to the best generals. A more impolitic division could hardly have been made.

In the east, trouble began immediately. One king would not leave his kingdom and make way for his general—he was killed. Another king had been set up by an independent general who had not recognized the Winged. This general drove out the man appointed as the new king, then killed his own king and set himself up as king in defiance of the Winged. The ancient kingly lines were not showing much vigor in these contests with their nobles, and the people's respect for the aristocrats kept decreasing. Another general who had not been given any territory drove out one of the new kings and recalled its former king, giving himself the king's vacated kingdom. The Winged started with his army for the area of greatest disturbance, defeated and killed its rebellious king. When the region submitted, the Winged tried to prevent future rebellions by destroying the walls of all its cities. Thereby he, however, exposed their people to bandits. The people, in desperation, rebelled again. The Winged, a true aristocrat and general, could not understand the people.

Meanwhile Liu the Youngest, now King of Han, had not been idle. He had found a man of real military genius, and had promptly made him his general-in-chief. Before his soldiers could get over their homesickness for the east and their disgust at going into banishment in Han, he pushed eastward into Shensi. There he surprised and several times defeated the greatest general of the former Second Emperor, and besieged him closely in his capital. Thereupon the other two generals who had been appointed as kings in Shensi submitted. The people rejoiced at the coming of Liu the Youngest. They had had enough of these aristocrats who were careless of the lives and interests of the common people. Treated severely by the First Emperor, misruled by the Second Emperor, massacred by the Winged, they were ready to welcome enthusiastically someone who professed to govern for their interests. They

crowded into the new king's armies to defend their homeland. He opened to them the vast parks, enclosures, gardens, and ponds that had belonged to the First Emperor. The Winged was busy in the east, so that the Youngest had the opportunity to organize his new conquest, raise an army, defend the passes, and make himself impregnable in Shensi.

When the news of King Huai's assassination trickled into Shensi, Liu, the King of Han, took another step. He had received the surrender of the heir to the empire of all China. Now he claimed to be the successor of the emperors. He proclaimed a general amnesty for criminals, something regularly done at the accession of a new emperor, and sure to be popular. Then he ordered a change in the gods all over the country: the gods of the old dynasty were to be removed and the gods of the new dynasty put in their place. Of course no real change was made—the same rites continued to be paid at the same places; only the names of the gods were changed. Since the sun and rain came as usual, the people found the gods of the new dynasty as powerful as the old ones. The families of his soldiers were exempted from taxes—something sure to bring recruits. There was no formal coronation. With a politic humility he continued to have himself called the King of Han. He did not care for a high-sounding title without any real power.

VII.

Less than a year after returning to Shensi, the Youngest felt strong enough to venture beyond its borders. Those who were dissatisfied with the Winged's arbitrary division were beginning to come to the King of Han, for he had established himself in the former capital of the last emperor. When the news of King Huai's assassination became more generally known, the Youngest proclaimed a general mourning for the murdered emperor. Then he announced that he was ready to follow the nobles and kings to exact vengeance from the murderer, Hsiang the Winged.

So the tactful peasant found himself the real leader of a large army which included five kings and marched against the Winged. Like all such allied forces, it, however, suffered from friction between the commanders. Liu the Youngest knew that he was only a peasant. He had announced that he was "following" the kings, so he could not compel them to cooperate. There was no other real leader in the army. The Winged was away in the north, suppressing a rebellion there, and so the allies entered his capital. Then followed the terrible defeat at P'êng-ch'êng, which has been previously described.

That evening the Youngest, with a few hundred troops, was surrounded by the Winged's cavalry. The Winged would show him no mercy now. The Youngest could only expect the treatment of a rebel and traitor. But suddenly a dust-storm arose, "breaking trees and blowing away houses, blowing up sand and gravel so that the day was dark". In the face of such a raging northwest wind, the Winged's troops could not maintain any order, so that the Youngest succeeded in escaping with some dozens of horsemen. His army and allies were gone, but he luckily escaped with his life.

VIII.

On the way, he passed through his native town, near which the battle had been fought. Now that he had definitely rebelled against the Winged, vengeance would be directed against his family. News of his defeat had preceded him, for no one was at home. On the road, he, however, came upon two of his children, a girl and a boy. They were fleeing, so the Youngest took them into his four-horse war chariot. It was a mere three-sided springless box on wheels in which the occupants stood or clung to the dashboard as the cart jolted along. There were already three men in the chariot; the two children crowded it. The younger was only five years old. As the chariot bumped along the unpaved road, the children found it difficult to keep from being jolted out. There was no paving; the roads were mere tracks; Liu was fleeing in haste for he was being pursued. When the chariot lurched, he was thrown against the children and they were dashed out. He had lost his nerve after the day's crushing defeat of all his hopes, and made no move to help them. His companion in the chariot however quickly stepped down, rescued the children, pushed them back into the chariot. The same thing happened a second and a third time, and the companion each time rescued the children. It looked as if Liu the King was deliberately throwing out his own children in order to escape. Thereupon the King's companion became outraged. He broke into reproach, "Even though we are pressed from behind we cannot hasten our travel; what good would it do to abandon them?" After that the Youngest was more careful, so that the children remained with him.

The situation was very serious; the three men in the Youngest's chariot were greatly outnumbered by their pursuers, and it seemed certain that they would be overtaken. The Youngest, however, noticed that the leader of the pursuit was an acquaintance, the old gentleman Ting. In the good old days, when war was still a chivalrous pursuit, in which glory, not gain, was sought, it had been the practise for a knight to allow a chariot which was on the point of being captured to escape if the enemy warriors had the good taste to pay a ransom of homage on the spot. The Youngest knew that the old gentleman Ting honored ancient customs, so turned around to the old gentleman, who was near in his pursuing chariot, and said politely, "Why should two capable persons make difficulties for each other?" Thereby he put himself, the King of Han, upon an equality with the old gentleman. The old gentleman recognized the homage thereby paid him, and politely called in his troops from the pursuit, so that the Youngest came away safely.

Some years later, after the Youngest had become Emperor, the old gentleman Ting came to court, relying upon his chivalrous conduct. But the Youngest had learnt war in the camp of the Winged, who esteemed success, not glory. The Youngest was willing to use chivalry, but he despised it. His were days of bitter and relentless warfare. He told his suite that the old gentleman Ting had been a traitor to the Winged, for he had caused the Winged to lose the empire. He had the old gentleman executed as a traitor. Thus the efficient warrior despised the chivalrous knight.

The other members of his family, the father and his wife, were

not so fortunate. They had fled in disguise, but fell into the hands of the Winged's troops, were detected, and kept as hostages. It was a great humiliation for the King of Han; but Liu the Youngest had no great affection for his wife. She was a hard and masterful woman. He had followed his own desires and the custom of the aristocrats in taking several other women. His oldest son was the child of another woman. His favorite always went with him, even on his campaigns. Hence he easily consoled himself for the loss of his wife. For his father to be captured was, however, a more serious matter. Yet what could be done about it? He dismissed the matter from his mind. Heirs were more important than even parents.

IX.

In disguise Liu the Youngest sought refuge with his brother-in-law's troops who happened to be only sixty miles away. Most of his allies deserted him. Some followed their own ambitions. A few went over to the Winged. One king died of his wounds. The Youngest was seemingly left alone to fight the invincible Winged. From being the leader of the kingdoms, he had become a fugitive. But he did not lose heart for long; he knew that, although the Winged was a supremely great general, he was no politician. He realized that politics might be more effective in building an empire than conquest could be. There had recently been a conjunction of the five planets in the constellation representing Shensi, and it was popularly interpreted to mean that the Youngest, who controlled Shensi, would be the next emperor. Gradually he collected a few of his defeated troops and traveled westwards, away from the Winged's capital. Meanwhile he sent a trusty henchman to persuade one of the Winged's most powerful nobles to rebel. If that plan worked, the Winged would be occupied for at least a few months in putting down the rebellion. Thus the Youngest could secure a breathing space to revive his force. Luckily the Winged's haughty demeanor and arbitrary acts made the plan work. The Youngest might yet become the Emperor of all the country.

So he returned to his capital, and boldly proclaimed his barely rescued son as his Heir-apparent. It was usual at such events to free prisoners and forgive crimes. The Youngest knew that such a move would endear him still more with the people. Then he proceeded to chastize those of his nobles who had gone over to the enemy. Meanwhile trusty lieutenants strained every nerve to gather new soldiers. They drafted every man they could find, even youths not supposed to be called up for a year or two and those above the age of retirement. These were sent to the Youngest. Thus his army was greatly strengthened, and he was able to defeat the general whom the Winged sent against him. The Youngest next induced an ally to conquer the region north of the Winged's capital and raid southward to cut off the Winged's supplies. If that plan worked, when the Winged came west to attack the Youngest, he would find himself very much hampered, even with a victorious army. It worked. The Youngest was very good at making plans, much better than at fighting.

When the Winged had finally put down the rebellion and came west, he found the Youngest secure behind the stout walls of a large city.

He had built a walled road leading to a nearby granary, which was the largest in the country, where grain had been stored up against a famine. He could only be starved out. That would take time, but it could be done. When the Youngest realized the Winged's relentlessness, he offered to make peace and to give half the country to the Winged. It was a fair offer, but the Winged would not make peace. It was now or never. If he could capture his enemy now, he knew how to stop any future trouble from him. So the walled road was cut and the city besieged. This time the Winged would not allow his enemy to escape. Military means could end the career of even the most crafty plotter. The man who with thirty thousand had crushed a force of more than half a million could capture one city and there would be no escape.

The siege dragged on, as sieges must without artillery. Meanwhile there drifted around the rumor that the Youngest had entrusted a vast sum of gold, forty thousand pounds of gold, to one of his lieutenants, to bribe his enemy's officers. The Winged investigated and found that it was only too true. That much money would entice anyone, the Winged thought. It was more than he himself could command. Who might not be enticed therewith? The Winged was naturally suspicious; even his own greatest lieutenant, the man he called his Second Father, might be thus bribed and led to give bad advice. He had recently noticed signs of disquietude on the man's face. True, the Winged had been none too polite to him and had contemptuously rejected some earnestly urged plans; but that might not be the whole reason. It would be well to scrutinize carefully his advice. Soon the Second Father had secret information that the defenders of the city were in bad straits. He urged the Winged to carry the city by assault, but he found his advice received very coldly. Not a man moved; the Winged concluded that this advice might likely be a trap set for him by the crafty Youngest. The Second Father was outraged—it was too much to be treated thus, for he had loyally devoted himself to the Winged. He left the camp, returned home, caught sick, and died. Thus the Youngest had disposed of a very dangerous opponent. Without his Second Father's advice, the Winged was bound to make serious mistakes.

But the siege still dragged on, and food in the city became scarcer and scarcer. Finally the time arrived when the troops could not hold out much longer. Even if the city surrendered, the Youngest and his followers knew that he would be killed. He was too dangerous an enemy. In this crisis, the Youngest's friendliness with his subordinates saved the day. In the camp there was a general, Chi Hsin, who resembled the Youngest. He knew his lord's danger, and offered his own life to give his lord the chance to escape. Two thousand women were secretly made to don arms. They were told that no real fighting or danger would be incurred. Then by night Chi Hsin, dressed in the Youngest's robes, mounted the imperial chariot with all the imperial insignia, and rode out of the city by the east gate with his escort of armed women. The ruse worked. The Winged's troops surrounded and attacked the women, whereupon Chi Hsin called out from his lord's chariot, "Our food is gone. The King of Han surrenders." The news quickly spread around the Winged's camp, and all his troops rushed to the east gate to gaze upon the

surrendered king. They called out, "Huzzah! Huzzah! Long live our King!" and escorted the pretended Youngest to the Winged. There the deceit was discovered. Hurriedly the Winged asked Chi Hsin, "Where is the King of Han?" and received the answer, "He has gone away." Upon inquiry, he found the news only too true. While the soldiers had rushed to the east gate, the Youngest had quietly left by the west gate with a few dozen cavalry and had escaped. The Winged grimly had Chi Hsin burnt alive. He was too angry to do less.

A month later the city was taken, and its defenders slain. The Winged found it an empty victory, for the Youngest had gone. As long as the Youngest was alive, the capture of a city would mean little. The general who had been left in charge of the city, Chou Ho, was captured alive, and brought to the Winged. The Winged greatly admired the gallant defence this man had put up until after the last bite of food was gone. He generously endeavored to win him over, saying, "Be my general. I will make you a general of the first rank and appoint you over a territory of thirty thousand families." It was a fair offer, but Chou Ho's loyalty could not be seduced. He defied the Winged, "If you do not forthwith submit to Han, you will soon be its captive. You are not a match for the King of Han." That was too much for the man who knew himself the best general in the world. The Winged had Chou Ho boiled alive. Loyalty to death has not been lacking in China.

The Youngest retired behind the mountains defending Shensi and collected fresh troops. Never again would he let himself be caught in a city with no escape. The next time he might not find any hero willing to sacrifice his life. But it would not do to leave his enemy unmolested. So, instead of returning east from Shensi, he led his troops out of a pass to the south and ravaged his enemy's territory there. The Winged had to follow—to make a long detour around the mountains. When he reached his enemy, he found the Youngest entrenched in the hills in a place where his communications could not be cut. When the Winged tried to provoke a battle, the Youngest would not come out of his entrenchments. He knew that time was on his side and that as soon as the Winged had left the far east, trouble would break out there. It did, and the Winged had to return to put it down. Then the Youngest returned to the very region in the east from which he had fled.

When the Winged came back again from the east and prepared to besiege the city where the Youngest had established his headquarters, the Youngest promptly left the city and fled. He would not risk another siege. So the Winged captured the city. But his communications were continually being cut and even the territory near his capital ravaged by other rebels. A rival general had defeated the army he had left there, and had burnt his stores. That could not be tolerated. He must go east to deal with this new enemy himself. He must also prevent a junction between the Youngest and this new enemy. So he left a part of his army with two of his generals to defend the city. He gave them strict orders not on any account to risk a battle, promising to return in fifteen days, in which time he would have crushed this new enemy.

So soon as he had left, the Youngest tried to provoke a battle. He knew that the Winged's arbitrary actions and bad temper had

driven away any able generals who might think of serving under him. With the Winged himself absent, victory was possible. But the army stayed in the city and would not come out. Then the Youngest tried sending men up to the ramparts to insult the general in charge. This general had been a jailor, and it was not hard to find keenly biting things to say about him. After five or six days of abuse, the general's anger was at the boiling-point. Orders or no orders, such insults must be avenged. No man alive could stand calmly by while such things were said to him. His colleague agreed with him, for both generals had been insulted; so the army was ordered out to battle. The two generals thought they would surprise the Youngest, but he was not to be caught thus. As their army was in the middle of a stream, the Youngest was upon them. The defeat was terrible. The army was crushed; the generals cut their own throats in chagrin, and the city was captured. Again the Youngest took possession of the Winged's riches and treasures.

XI

When the news of this defeat reached the Winged, he had already subjugated more than ten cities. He had no alternative but return west to deal with the Youngest. The Youngest's army was just then besieging another of the Winged's generals. As soon as the tidings arrived that the Winged was returning, the Youngest lost all his confidence and fled into some entrenchments that he had prepared.

Just northwest of the place where the Hankow-Peking railroad now crosses the Yellow River, there were two steep hills, distant only two hundred paces from each other, with a deep gully between them. The Youngest had fortified one of these hills because it was near the great granary and could not be starved out. The Winged resolved this time to keep after his enemy no matter how long it took; but in the face of such a strong position, he could only watch and wait. He seized the other hill and fortified it. Thus the two armies faced each other for several months, almost within bow-shot of each other. The Winged dared not leave now; to leave would merely expose his generals to another defeat. He knew now that the Youngest was his most dangerous enemy. If only he had realized that fact before, and had followed his Second Father's advice . . . He realized now that he had maligned and thrown away a most trustworthy and irreplaceable helper.

He had one great advantage, and he intended to use it now. After the battle of P'êng-ch'êng, he had captured the Youngest's father and wife and kept them in his camp as hostages. He scorned to take advantage of a woman, but a son must protect his father, for a father cannot be replaced. So the Winged had an elevated altar erected in plain sight and hearing of his enemy's entrenchments. He ordered the father put on it, and announced to the Youngest, "If now you do not submit promptly, I will boil your father alive." For a son not to protect his father, even at the cost of his own life, would cause a terrible scandal. So the Winged expected by this means to compel his adversary to yield.

But the Youngest would not be turned aside by such a threat. He answered calmly, "You and I have together received the orders of

King Huai, who has told us that this pact has made us brothers. My father is then your father; if you are absolutely determined to boil *your* father, I pray you to do me the kindness of sending me a cup of the soup." What could the Winged do in the face of such a reply? Instead of making his enemy yield, he had been shown to the world as a cruel monster. And he had made no impression on his enemy. In fierce anger he turned to kill the poor father. But his own uncle, who now stood in the place of his father (and who had once saved the Youngest from death) stopped him, pointing out that nothing would be gained by the death of one more person. So the Youngest's father was sent back into custody. The Youngest's boldness and imperturbability had saved himself and his father's life.

As time went on the soldiers of both sides became more and more exhausted. The younger men had continually to be on guard, the older men were worn out in bringing provisions. The Winged's impatience grew greater and greater. He was cooped up in a camp when he should have been out fighting. So he challenged his enemy to a duel. He, tall and strong, was a practised fighter; the Youngest was short and had no great prowess. The Youngest however merely laughed and replied, "I prefer the struggle of intelligence; I do not know how to fight hand to hand." With words the Winged was no match for the Youngest.

At another time the two met by chance in the gully between the two camps. They had once been good friends and each had highly esteemed the other; ambition had made them bitter enemies. The Winged renewed his demand for a duel. The Youngest countered with a long enumeration of the Winged's evil deeds: his failure to respect the covenant regarding the conquest of Shensi, the murder of his commander-in-chief, the burning and plundering of the imperial palace, the murder of the surrendered king, his treacherous slaughter of a surrendered army, the civil war arising from his division of the country, and other similar deeds. He ended by saying, "I, with my righteous soldiers, am following the nobles to punish your deeds—to punish an assassin and brigand I should send an ex-convict to fight with you—why should I then suffer the trouble of fighting a duel with you?" The Youngest's tongue more than made up for what he lacked in strength. The Winged could merely fly into a rage, seize a hidden cross-bow, and shoot. It was the reply of force to intellect—this time it was successful. The Youngest was wounded in the chest, but had the presence of mind to grasp his foot and cry out, "This catiff has hit me in the toe!" His followers carried him back into his entrenchments.

It was a critical moment; the Youngest's wound, while not fatal, was very painful, and he could only roll in pain on his couch. Meanwhile all sorts of rumors went flying around his camp: their King was killed; he was mortally wounded; they would all be massacred by the victorious Winged. So great became the danger that the Youngest's general begged him to go out and show himself to his soldiers. He made the effort, although he suffered greatly in so doing. He would not allow mere pain to defeat his purpose. But he could not help the army more; in a few days he left the camp, went to a neighboring city, and, as soon as he could ride, went back to Shensi to attend to his kingdom there. He had capable generals whom he could trust.

Meanwhile the Winged's food supplies were getting worse and worse. He had been continuously challenging the Youngest's army for almost a year. From the north of his dominions, an ally of the Youngest was attacking with a great army. In the south, his own general had rebelled. Between him and his capital, guerilla bands had been continually harassing his supply trains, and had even burned his stores. He became more and more worried about the situation, realizing that it was suicidal to continue attacking his enemy when his base was itself in danger. So he was glad to make a treaty of peace with the Youngest, dividing the country in half. In his eagerness he even gave the Youngest the larger half of the country and returned to him his father and his wife. They had been held as hostages for over two years. He knew his army was almost exhausted and that the men could not endure much more. If they could recuperate, he would succeed better next time.

XII

But the Youngest would not lose such a good opportunity to crush his rival. Once his father and his wife were safe, he was ready to go in pursuit of the Winged. Treaty or no treaty, the Winged must be crushed completely. As one of his advisors said, allowing the Winged to recuperate would be like rearing a tiger to bring misfortune upon oneself. The Youngest arranged for a meeting with his allies who had been operating to the north and to the south of the Winged's capital, and started with his army in pursuit of the Winged. His troops were fresh and in good condition; whereas the Winged's troops were exhausted, half-starved, and much fewer than his. He did not now fear the result of a battle.

Yet he reckoned without his enemy's genius. No sooner had the Youngest come near the Winged's capital, than the Winged turned upon him and inflicted another defeat. The man seemed invulnerable even in the most hopeless situation. The Youngest's troops, notwithstanding this defeat, were even yet more numerous than those of the Winged. But the Youngest could only order his men to build an entrenched camp and wait for his allies to come. If they had been there, his force would have been so large that it could not have been defeated. Why did they not come? Unless they came, his cause was hopeless.

At last the situation became plain to him. Once the Winged was disposed of, the Youngest would be in control of the whole country. Before they came, his allies wanted to be sure of the territory they were now controlling. So the Youngest happily sent off messengers promising his allies the territory they desired, and promptly received word that they wanted nothing more than to crush their enemy, the Winged. They hastened to the rendezvous. Meanwhile even the Winged's general-in-chief had also been induced to revolt in the Winged's own territory, and came with his troops.

It was now January of the year before Hannibal was defeated at Zama. The jackals had assembled to destroy the exhausted lion. This time it was the Winged who had to guard himself in an entrenched camp not far from the place where he had so disastrously defeated the Youngest two and a half years before. But he could not

stay in his camp—his provisions were running short, for the allies were besieging him closely in his entrenchments. He would be forced to fight, even against the overwhelming odds. In the night the Youngest had all his soldiers sing the songs of the Winged's homeland. The Winged heard them, and at once jumped to the conclusion that his whole dominion had revolted. That meant that even his own troops might turn against him. All night he was wakeful, thinking of the morrow. At last he called for his beautiful beloved, who always accompanied him on his campaigns, and sent for his famous horse, on whose back he had ridden to victory so many times. He tossed off bumper after bumper of wine and sang a final song:

"My force has rooted up mountains;
My strength has dominated the world.
Alas! The time was not favorable—
My charger will gallop no more.
"If my charger gallops no more,
What can I do?
My darling, my darling,
What will you do then?"

Thus he sang, stanza after stanza, and his beloved sang with him, weeping copious tears. His servants wept too, for they knew what was inevitable. None dared to look at their once mighty master, now spending his last peaceful night.

As he had lived, so he would die—fighting. The next day was spent preparing. He carefully chose about eight hundred tried and trusted cavalry. Just at dusk, when the allied army had settled down for another night of waiting, the Winged burst out upon them with his band of horse. He broke through the ring that surrounded him and galloped to the south in a last attempt for freedom. Behind him came the cavalry of the allies, five thousand strong. Nothing less than overwhelming force could be trusted to deal with this invincible warrior. Going south across the river he out-distanced his pursuers, but at the same time lost those of his own men who could not keep up with his own peerless horse. At last only a hundred horse remained with him. Then he lost his way in broken country. When, at the foot of a mountain, he stopped to ask the road of a peasant, the man deceived him and sent him to flounder in a great marsh. There the cavalry sent by the Youngest came up with him. Nevertheless he succeeded in extricating himself with some twenty-eight horsemen, while his pursuers numbered several thousand.

He collected his remaining horse on top of a hill which his pursuers surrounded. He knew now that he could not avoid death, and addressed his men proudly, "Eight years have rolled by since I began fighting. I have myself fought sixty-six battles; those who resisted me have been crushed, those who attacked me have been made to submit—I have never been defeated. I have possessed the empire and made myself its ruler. Now you see to what an extremity I have been reduced—I have never committed a military fault; it is Heaven who has destroyed me. Now I am resolved to die. I have vanquished my enemy three times; I have broken their lines; I have killed generals; I have cut down their standard. I want you, sire, to know that it is Heaven who has destroyed me, for I have not committed one milit-

ary fault." Then he divided his men into four bands and ordered each band to descend one face of the hill. He himself pointed out a conspicuous enemy and said, "I go to seize that general over there."

As he galloped down, shouting his war-cry loudly, the enemy fled from him, in spite of their overwhelming numbers. So the Winged cut off the head of the general he had pointed out. When another general was pursuing him, he threw back such a baleful glance, so full of anger and hatred, that both horse and rider were frightened. The horse galloped wildly off with its rider. Then the Winged escaped. His followers divided themselves into three bands, meeting at three different places east of the hill, so that the enemy had likewise to divide their forces. The Winged galloped on, cut off the head of another general in passing, killed dozens of men, and collected his cavalry again. Two more were missing. Then he came to the river bank.

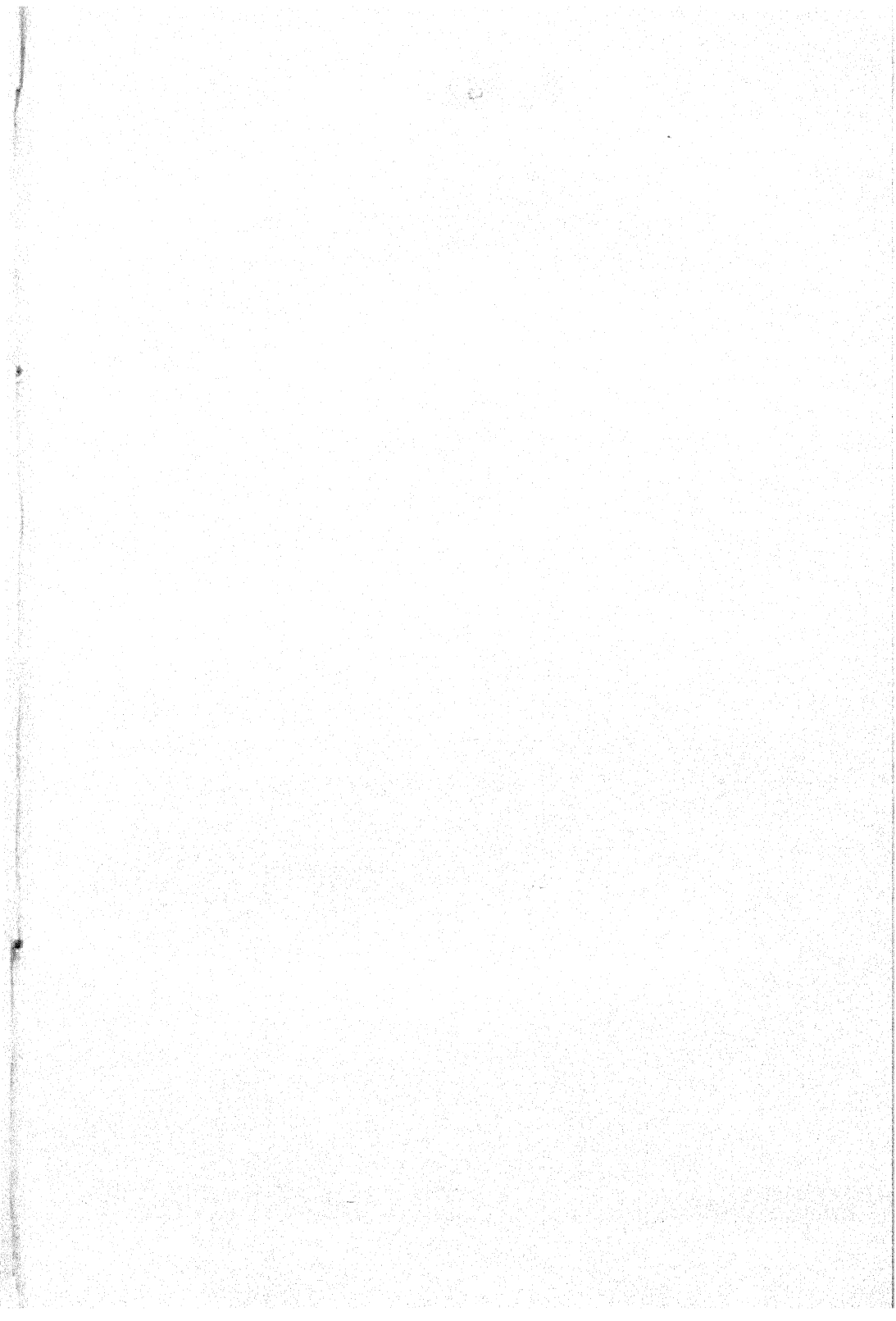
There one of the country people offered him safe passage across the river on the only boat available. Once across he would be safe and the people would make him king of the region to the river. Could he desert his faithful followers thus? He broke into bitter laughter. "Heaven has destroyed me, why should I cross? I formerly came across the river with eight thousand men; must I now return without one of them? Even though the people to the east of the river should make me king, how could I look them in the face? Even though they should say nothing to me, would not my heart be full of shame?" Always generous, he resolved even now to reward this peasant. He turned to his would-be rescuer, "I know you are a brave man; I have ridden this horse for five years; there is not his equal anywhere. I have not the courage to kill him. I make you a present of him."

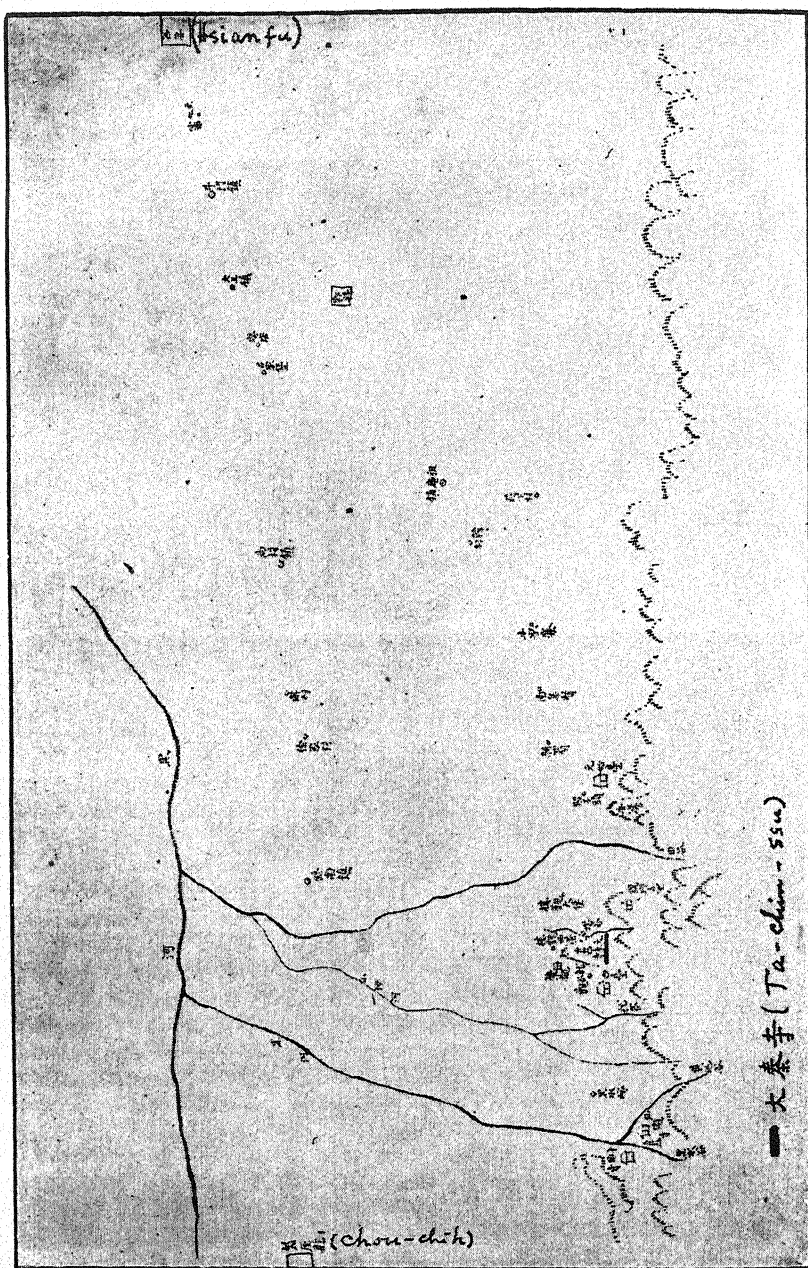
Then the Winged ordered his followers to dismount and fight sword in hand under his leadership. After himself killing several dozens of men and receiving more than ten wounds, he saw one of his old friends in the enemy's army. Now he would do one more kindly deed before he died. He had resolved never to be taken alive and called out, "Aren't you one of my former acquaintances?" The man turned his head away. The Winged went on, "I have heard that the Youngest has offered a thousand pounds of gold for my head and the income of ten thousand families. I give it to you." Then he cut his own throat and died.

There followed the most curious combat. One man seized the Winged's head, another a foot, others came crowding around, grasping at the body. Swords flew, hacking and hacking wildly, until dozens of men were killed in the melee. When it was over, five captains found themselves each in possession of a member. Scattered around were members enough to make several bodies; those five, because they were noblemen, divided the reward.

So died a scion of the country's noblest family. He had once been a fugitive from justice, yet he became the leader of the country's troops. He had made his word law in dividing the country, and had never been vanquished in battle. Yet his career was ended by the commoner whom he had befriended, cavalierly despoiled of his prize, despised, and finally feared. After the Winged's death the whole country submitted to the Youngest without a struggle. He could now afford to be generous, so, with Chinese courtesy, he buried the

Winged with the honors of a duke. A mourning ceremony was proclaimed, at which the Youngest himself duly mourned for his great rival. His feelings may easily be imagined. On the gravestone were cut the simple words, "King Hsiang." So the tomb remained for a thousand years until it wore away. Meanwhile the Youngest ascended the emperor's throne and became known as Han Kao-tsu, the Great Ancestor of the Han Dynasty, the first commoner ever to find his way to this most exalted position. His successors made their empire so glorious that even today the Chinese love to call themselves, "The Sons of Han." As with Hannibal, organization and political ability triumphed over military genius.





SKETCHED BY DR. HSÜ YÜ-SEN 徐玉森

Map showing the present position of the Ta-ch'in Temple at Chou-chih
(see page 85)

OLD PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT IN CHINA RE-EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF NEWLY DISCOVERED FACTS

By P. Y. SAEKI

INTRODUCTORY.

Needless to say, it is now more than three hundred years since the Nestorian Monument in China became known to the world. Ever since the Latin translation of the Inscription by Father Nicholas Trigault (金尼閣) was published in 1625 A.D. for the first time, a great deal has been done in the West in the way of criticism or of the elucidation of this unique Christian Monument. And really the names of books written during the last three centuries about this Nestorian Stone might well be said to be "legion". Out of the multitude of these numberless books and booklets written abroad, Dr. Heller made a selected list of 75 books on the Monument together with a list of several translations of the Inscription itself and added them to the front of his well known book "Das Nestorianische Denkmal in Singan Fu" in 1895. Now, such a list of the Nestorian literature alone may show how keen the Western world was by the end of the 19th century on the subject of Christianity in China. But the mere fact that more than a dozen books have already been published after Dr. Heller's time or rather in the first three decades of the present century besides almost innumerable essays and dissertations, great or small, written on the subject at home and abroad, will show us that the problem of Nestorianism in China belongs to the future.

But there may be some who think that enough has been done about the Nestorian Monument by great scholars at home and abroad and they may even blame us for bothering the reader by "adding extra feet to the centipede", as we say in the Far East. It must, however, be confessed that there remains much to be done with regard to the external and internal problems of the Nestorian Monument. Even after a very exhaustive work on the subject has been published, for instance, by such a great scholar as Father Henri

Havret in his "La Stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-Fou", there still remains not a little to be said concerning either the Chinese expressions or the Syriac phrases and words in the Inscription, not to say the 74 names of the Nestorian bishops and presbyters and deacons written both in Syriac and in Chinese, which alone will prove to be almost of unique and invaluable material for those who want to make a study on the vocal sound of the Chinese letters in the Middle Ages.

We shall, however, confine ourselves here to the external problems of the Monument only, since all these internal problems will naturally require much more space than could be spared for us. Furthermore, the external problems concerning the place where the Monument was originally discovered or the time when it was unearthed for the first time are rather burning questions of the day, so to speak, ever since these problems were rekindled by Prof. Paul Pelliot in 1914 for the first time and seconded and followed by the late Prof. Kuwabara in 1923. We shall therefore take up here these problems of the time and the place of the discovery of the Nestorian Stone, and its transportation to Hsian-fu, etc.

HOW THESE EXTERNAL PROBLEMS STAND AT PRESENT.

Now, roughly speaking, there are so far three different places and three different dates suggested regarding the discovery of the Nestorian Stone. According to the first theory, it is said that the monument was originally discovered in the District of Chou-chih (整屋縣), not in Hsian-fu (西安府). But according to the second theory, it is insisted that the Stone must have been discovered in Hsian-fu, not in Chou-chih; whilst the third theory solemnly declares that the Stone was dug out at a certain place in Kuan-chung (關中) which means literally "within the (four) forts" defending Hsian-fu, the ancient capital of China. And of course both Hsian-fu and Chou-chih are included in the expression "within the four forts". Consequently this third theory cannot be treated as an independent theory, and we are only to decide which is in the right, the first theory or the second.

But even these two opponent theories are not really so antagonistic as they appear at first, for they may mean in reality the same if we see both sides of the shield well enough, because Chou-chih belonged to Fêng Hsiang-fu (鳳翔府) during the Sung dynasty, when the famous Su Tung-p'o (蘇東坡) visited the place as we have to show presently, but the same Chou-chih was included within the territorial Division of Hsian-fu during the Ming Dynasty, when the Nestorian Stone was discovered. Such being the case, to say that the Stone was discovered at a certain place in the Western suburb of Hsian-fu may practically mean the same thing as to say that the Stone was discovered in Chou-chih, since Chou-chih, in fact, formed the western part of the territorial Division of Hsian-fu at the time of its discovery. The only important point to be settled is whether the Stone was originally unearthed in the premises of the Chin-shêng-ssü (金勝寺), where the Stone stood ever since A.D. 1625 till A.D. 1908, when it was removed to the Pei-lin (碑林) (literally "the Forest of Monuments", where many ancient monuments are kept as the National Treasures of China), as insisted by some, or

was it first discovered in the District of Chou-chih and then transported to Hsian-fu afterward, as maintained by others.

As far as the question of the place of discovery is concerned, we shall have only to decide whether the Stone was found in the District of Chou-chih or no, on the strength of newly discovered facts. But with regard to the time of discovery, we must remember that there are three theories. One theory says that the Stone was discovered in A.D. 1623. Another theory declares that the discovery took place in A.D. 1625, not in 1623, whilst a third theory insists that the date of the discovery of the stone belongs to a certain period of the Wan-li years (萬曆) (A.D. 1573-1620). So here we are to decide which of these three dates is correct. Was it in or about A.D. 1620 that the stone was discovered as suggested by the third theory or was it discovered in 1623 as insisted by the first theory, or did the discovery take place in A.D. 1625 as commonly believed?

THE PROS AND CONS EXPRESSED.

Of these three theories concerning the date and two theories of the place it was our humble opinion that the Nestorian Monument was originally discovered in Chou-chih and then transported to Hsian-fu as testified by Father Trigault in A.D. 1625. And now we must say we found some facts to substantiate our theory concerning the place of discovery, whilst these new facts may also ensure the credibility of A.D. 1623 against A.D. 1625 as the date of the discovery. In other words, we now have come to believe more than ever that the discovery of the stone took place in the District of Chou-chih when the town of Chou-chih was under the administration of the District Governor Liang K'o-shun (梁克順), whose terms of office over Chou-chih covered between the Spring of A.D. 1620 and that of A.D. 1623, whilst the transportation of the stone from Chou-chih to Hsian-fu most probably took place afterward when Governor Liang was promoted to the higher post and made a member of the Censorate (御史) and came to reside in Hsian-fu in the Autumn of A.D. 1623. And what we produce here we hope and trust will serve as evidences to substantiate what we say regarding the time and place of the discovery of the Stone.

We are told, however, that we are in the wrong, and that the stone was originally unearthed in Hsian-fu, not in Chou-chih, by those who hold the second theory we mentioned above. They say whatever is, in a sense, is discovered right there! The following may well be called representative of the second theory. For instance, Prof. Pelliot says: Enfin je tâcherai d'établir deux théories qui n'ont guère été envisagées jusqu'à présent: 1° L'inscription n'a pas dû être retrouvée à Tcheou-tche, mais dans le faubourg occidental de Si-ngan-fou, la même où elle se dressait encore il y a quelques années, c'est-à-dire en fait sur l'emplacement qu'elle avait toujours occupé, dans l'enceinte même du monastère fondé au VIII^e siècle par A-lo-pen. 2° L'inscription n'est à aucun degré un monument funéraire: elle a été érigée à l'occasion d'une de ces réunions annuelles qui se faisaient aux frais d'un Nestorien de haut rang, le prêtre Yi-sseu, dont l'éloge occupe toute la dernière partie du texte chinois avant le morceau versifié" (The *T'oung Pao*, vol. XIV, 1914, p. 625).

Thus, according to the great professor, the Nestorian stone must have been dug out at a spot not far from the place where the stone stood from A.D. 1625 until 1908 when the stone was removed to the Pei-lin for its protection and preservation.

Apart from what Prof. Pelliot expressed in 1914, the late Professor Kuwabara also expressed himself very much against the Chou-chih theory in 1923. The following is the gist of what Prof. Kuwabara said, if we translate his words correctly. He says: "Regarding the place where the Nestorian Monument was discovered, we hear that it was originally unearthed at a certain place in Chou-chih. And this story was handed down to us from Father Trigault who happened to be the first eye-witness of the Monument among the Europeans in China. And when Father Bartoli published his book "Cina" in 1633, he also mentioned Chou-chih as the place where the stone was originally found. Consequently many have come to think that Chou-chih was the place of the discovery. Not many years ago, Father Havret published his very thorough going scholarly book "Le stèle chrétienne in Si-ngan fou," and in it he supported this view, and this view is also followed by Mr. A. C. Moule of England and Mr. Saeki of Japan. But I am very much afraid that this Chou-chih theory cannot be substantiated by any means whatever for the following reasons:

"(1) That the Persian priest, Adam, whose Chinese name was Ching-ching (景淨) is mentioned in the Inscription as the priest of the Ta-ch'in Temple (*i.e.* the Nestorian Monastery). He, therefore, must have been in the very temple built in A.D. 638 by the orders of the Emperor T'ai-tsung at I-ning Street (義甯坊) in the city of Ch'ang-an as recorded in the Inscription. If such be the case we must conclude that the monument must have been originally set up within the premises of the Ta-ch'in Temple of Ch'ang-an in A.D. 781. The Nestorian Monument, therefore, could not have been unearthed at any place in the district of Chou-chih.

"(2) That so far we have never heard that there was any other Ta-ch'in Temple built any where within the District of Chou-chih. Consequently this Monument in question could not have been discovered in Chou-chih.

"(3) That we cannot even suppose for a mere supposition's sake that this Nestorian Stone, which we believe was originally set up at Ch'ang-an, was removed to Chou-chih at a certain period of time. We cannot even dream that. Nor can we find any trace of a fact giving us the slightest indication to indulge such a supposition.

"(4) That both Chang-k'eng-yü (張廣虞), a Chinese who sent the rubbing of the Inscription to Dr. Leon Li (李志藻) and Father Alvarez Semedo who was the second European eye-witness of the stone, examining it in A.D. 1628, say to the effect that the stone was unearthed near the western suburb of Ch'ang-an. On the contrary, both Semedo and Chang do not leave any testimonials to the effect that the stone was dug out at Chou-chih and transported to Hsian-fu.

"(5) That the fact that the present site, which the Chin-shêng-sū (金勝寺) occupies and within whose premises the Nestorian monument stood from A.D. 1625 until 1908, exactly corresponds to the old site of I-ning Street of Chang-an, where the first Nestorian Monastery was built in A.D. 638 is more than accidental, for such

a fact can only be attested to by modern scholars who have devoted their time in that line. I cannot imagine that the Chinese mandarins of the Ming Dynasty could accidentally hit the mark so well in the alleged transportation of the monument from Chou-chih to Hsian-fu.

"(6) It is therefore impossible to imagine that the stone was discovered originally in Chou-chih, and then transported to Hsian-fu afterward."

Such is the gist of the strong statements made by the late Prof. Kuwabara against the theory that the Nestorian monument was originally dug out from a certain place within the District of Chou-chih and then transported to Hsian-fu.

NEW LIGHT THROWN ON THESE DARK POINTS.

Thus we are in for it! and we have to defend ourselves against the imputation of fault loaded upon us. But if we are to prove positively that there existed a Ta-ch'in Temple (大秦寺) (*i.e.* a Nestorian Monastery) in Chou-chih quite contrary to the expectation of many scholars and that that very Ta-ch'in Temple still exists in Chou-chih to-day we are sure that we can take off the stings of all our opponents and nullify various points put forward against us by the great Japanese professor. So we have to prove, first of all, that there was a Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih, and in the second place, we have to produce as much evidence as we can to prove the fact that "the digging of the ground" (官命啓土) as mentioned by Father Diaz for the purpose of constructing canals or systems of irrigation of the District of Chou-chih was actually ordered by a mandarin by the name of Liang K'o-shun (梁克順) between A.D. 1620 and 1623 during his governorship over the District of Chou-chih. If we can prove these points, then we may well say that the transportation of the Nestorian Monument, very heavy as it is, took place, as we are told by Father Trigault and Father Bartoli, when Governor Liang was promoted to the honorable post of a Censor and came to reside in Hsian-fu in A.D. 1623. We are bound therefore to set before the reader various facts to prove all these points. The following facts will speak volumes to any who has so far paid some attention to the problems.

First of all, we must quote from the writings of the famous Su Tung-p'o (蘇東坡) who visited this very Nestorian Monastery in A.D. 1062 and A.D. 1065. According to Su Tung-p'o's writings, this famous man of letters visited the Ta-ch'in Temple twice during the year A.D. 1062—once in February and another time in November of the same year. But his third visit to the Nestorian Monastery took place sometime in A.D. 1065, as proved by poems composed by him and his younger brother Su Tzū-yu (蘇子由), another famous man of letters. The following poems which we have translated will prove to the whole world that there was a "Ta-ch'in Temple" in Chou-chih apart from that famous "Ta-ch'in Temple" which was built in I-ning Street of Ch'ang-an in A.D. 638.

We will begin with the great writer's introductory remarks to his poems. He says: "In February of A.D. 1062, the Imperial Edict was promulgated and all the prefectural officials were ordered to visit each local district concerned in order to make inspections so

that the gracious will of the Emperor may well be administered and realized either in the pardon of those prisoners who were to be set free or in the mitigation of penalty of those who were to be kept in prison. Therefore, on the 13th of February, we left the prefect for the country districts assigned to us on the official tour visiting the four Districts of Pao-chi (寶鷄) Kao (號), Mei (鄆) and Chou-chih (整屋). After all our official duty was well discharged, we proceeded to pay a visit to the T'ai-p'ing Shrine (太平宮) early in the morning, and thence we walked on and on until we reached "the Valley of the South Mountain" and came to rest ourselves at a place called "the South Ravine." There we found a villa standing by the stream and decided to stop over that night. The next morning we started to stroll on westward along the paths of the South Mountain. We first came to the Lao-tzu Temple (樓觀) and the Ta-ch'in ssü (大秦寺) (*i.e.* The Nestorian Monastery) and the Life-prolong Temple (延生觀) and then to the Lake of Immortality (仙游潭). Finally, on the 19th of the month, we got back to the Prefect safe and sound. Composing a long poem consisting of 100 verses, I sketched out what happened during our most pleasant official tour and very happy excursion. I presented the same to my younger brother Tzū-yu" (壬寅二月(嘉祐七年)有詔令郡吏分往屬縣減決囚禁自十三日出府至寶鷄號鄆整屋四縣既畢事因朝謁太平宮而宿於南谿谿堂遂並南山而西至樓觀大秦寺延生觀仙游潭十九日乃歸作詩五百言以記凡所經歷者寄子由.)

This poem, which we read in his complete work as consisting of 100 verses—each verse containing five words—is too long and too difficult a task to be rendered into English verses at present, whilst the poem itself contains almost no words directly concerning the Ta-ch'in Temple except that only in one of the foot-notes added by Su Tung-p'o himself reference was made to the Ta-ch'in Temple. This note we translate here as it is more necessary to our present purpose than the long poem itself. The great writer's note runs as follows:

"We visited (on the 17th of February) the Ta-ch'in Temple accompanied by Chang Kuo-chih (張杲之) and there we took our repast with all who were with us in the Temple. A Taoist priest by the name of Chao-tsung-yu (趙宗由) who had joined our party from the T'ai-p'ing Shrine (太平宮) happened to carry a musical instrument called ch'in (琴) with him, and he kindly played a classical tune for us expressing farewell wishes in token of love and good will" (是日(二月十七日)遊崇聖觀俗所謂樓觀也乃尹喜舊宅山脚授經台尚在遂與張杲之同至大秦寺早食而別有太平宮道士趙宗由抱琴見送至寺作鹿鳴之引乃去.)

Again, on the 3rd of November, 1062, Su Tung-p'o made a rambling tour over the same place for the second time. This time he visited "the Ta-ch'in Temple and Wu-chün (五郡)". He writes: "Starting from Ch'ing-p'ing-chên (清平鎮) we made our rambling tour for four days visiting the Lao-tzu Temple (樓觀), and Wu-chün (五郡) (Lit. "five prefectures") and the Ta-ch'in Temple (大秦) and the Life-prolong Temple (延生) and the Lake of Immortality (仙游). I composed several poems sketching out our pleasure ex-

cursion and showed them all to my younger brother Tzū-yu soliciting him to compose his own poems about the same thing, adopting the rhymes I used in mine" (自清平鎮遊樓觀五郡大秦延生仙游往返四日得詩寄子由同作.)

Su Tung-p'o's own poem on the Ta-ch'in Temple (*i.e.* a Nestorian monastery) at Chou-chih runs as follows:

ON THE TA-CH'IN TEMPLE.

1. How bright, how vast, how smooth the Rivers flow
From out the feet of the green clad hills, below!
2. Behold yon tower, through the distance, dim,
Lonely, outstanding 'gainst the mountain grim!
3. Onward I wander through this sheltered place,
When, suddenly, from below, upon my face
I feel the wind, and startled would retrace!
4. When glancing downward, there lay field and farm
Like some grand Ocean, spacious, gentle, calm
And Eastward flowing rivers, breathing charm.

大秦寺

蘇東坡

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 晃 | 蕩 | 平 | 川 | 盡 |
| 坡 | 陀 | 翠 | 麓 | 橫 |
| 忽 | 逢 | 孤 | 塔 | 迴 |
| 獨 | 向 | 亂 | 山 | 明 |
| 信 | 足 | 幽 | 尋 | 遠 |
| 臨 | 風 | 却 | 立 | 驚 |
| 原 | 田 | 浩 | 如 | 海 |
| 滾 | 滾 | 盡 | 東 | 傾 |

And that of Su Tzū-yu may be translated as follows:

ON THE TA-CH'IN TEMPLE.

1. Though far away from where it stands
Of the Ta-ch'in Shrine I sing
For where I was high on the temple lands
My thoughts, with the stream took wing,
To lands afar where my visions are
Where flows our river Chin.
2. Deep and dark are the glens and dales
Covered with flowers and trees
Cattle are scattered through field and vales
Grazing at peaceful ease.
3. On the mountain side where the temple stands
Is ground for the barley grain,
But never a priest there understands
Dhyana—or seeks to attain.
4. I turn to the North—to the distant view.
Ch'ang-an with its lofty wall,
The Mother City in mystery hue
Greater, grander than all,
Floats in the haze before my gaze,
And stands a great castle of old!

聞子瞻重遊南山大秦寺

蘇子由

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 大 | 秦 | 遙 | 可 | 說 |
| 高 | 處 | 見 | 秦 | 川 |
| 草 | 木 | 埋 | 深 | 谷 |
| 牛 | 羊 | 散 | 晚 | 田 |
| 山 | 平 | 堪 | 種 | 麥 |
| 僧 | 魯 | 不 | 求 | 禪 |
| 北 | 望 | 長 | 安 | 市 |
| 高 | 城 | 遠 | 似 | 烟 |

These poems alone will prove beyond any doubt to the candid mind that there existed a "Ta-ch'in Temple" (*i.e.* a Nestorian Monastery) at Chou-chih in the 11th Century quite different from that Ta-ch'in Temple built at I-ning Street, Hsian-fu, in A.D. 638 by the Imperial order as mentioned in the Nestorian Inscription. These poems also prove that this Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih was situated at a certain place on the South Mountain side, lying a distance of 120 or 130 li south-west of Ch'ang-an but 30 or 35 li south-east from the Prefect or the Government House of the District of Chou-chih according to the topographical description of Chou-chih (整屋縣志).

Now, judging from Tzŭ-yu's words, "Never a priest there understands Dhyana—or seeks to attain", we may conclude that the traces of the Chinese Nestorian Church were entirely lost among the natives in the course of 280 years—between A.D. 781, when the Nestorian Monument set-up by Lord Yesbuzid, the great donor of the Nestorian Church in China, and A.D. 1062, when this Nestorian Monastery was visited by the famous Su Tung-p'o—since both Su Tung-p'o and his younger brother as well as all their friends, the Taoist priests, must have taken this "Ta-ch'in Temple" for either a Buddhist or Taoist Temple. They never could have dreamed that this temple in which they took their repast and the very temple whose priests were so ignorant about Dhyana had once been a Nestorian Monastery.

Such a fact alone is enough to show that all the traces of the Nestorian Christianity were completely lost in China even among the learned and well-informed classes of the people by the end of the 10th Century, and agrees perfectly with what is reported to us by foreign sources, as we read in the historian an-Nadim, that Nestorian Christianity had quite died out in China by the end of the 10th Century—A.D. 987. He writes: "What the monk of Najran told me who came from the land of China in the year A. H. 377 (A.D. 987). Now this man of the people of Najran had been dispatched some seven years before this date by the Catholicus to the Land of China, there being sent with him five other men of Christians, of those whose business it is to attend to the affairs or religion. . . . He said in conclusion that the Christians who had been of old in the Lands of China had disappeared, and that their possessions had perished, so that in the whole land hardly one Christian now remained alive;

though in ancient times the Christians there had a church, this also now in ruins" (Fihirst, p. 349, quoted by G. Le Strange in "Bagdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," p. 213).

Furthermore, we find that in the year A.D. 1200, General Yang Yün-i (楊雲翼) happened to visit Ta-ch'in Temple at Chou-chih as is seen from a poem composed by him. But at that time all traces of Christianity had disappeared not only among the Chinese people of the Han race (漢人種) but even among the Chinese Turks whose ancestors were the Nestorians three or four generations back. The general's poem on the Ta-ch'in Temple at Chou-chih may well be translated:

ON THE TA-CH'IN TEMPLE.

1. The temple is in ruins—he who laid
Its firm foundation laboured but in vain.
2. No longer do the pious folk invade
Its courts; now only peace and quiet reign.
3. The soft green moss has mantled every tile
To rob the lustre of its delicate green.
4. But still against the hill, the slender pile
Stands dazzling white in golden rays of even.
5. Over the valley hang the passing clouds
A few lone birds go winging on their way
6. Towards their mountain home, the dusk beshrouds
The land; the smoke climbs upward silver grey.
7. Those days have gone in dust; my dream is over,
Now I may muse on waters clean and pure.

大秦寺

楊雲翼

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 寺 | 廢 | 基 | 空 | 在 |
| 人 | 歸 | 地 | 自 | 閒 |
| 綠 | 苔 | 昏 | 碧 | 瓦 |
| 白 | 塔 | 映 | 青 | 山 |
| 暗 | 谷 | 行 | 雲 | 度 |
| 蒼 | 煙 | 獨 | 鳥 | 還 |
| 喚 | 回 | 塵 | 土 | 夢 |
| 聊 | 此 | 弄 | 澄 | 灣 |

This poem by General Yang, short as it is, describes to us sufficiently in what state the old Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih was nearly 140 years after the time of Su Tung-p'o, endorsing still more fully the words of the monk of Najran as mentioned above. Yet at the same time these poems show us clearly that there was a "Nestorian Monastery" at Chou-chih.

But those who do not accept the Chou-chih theory regarding the place of the discovery of the Nestorian Stone may say: "Yes, these poems prove beyond any doubt that there was a Ta-ch'in Temple at Chou-chih apart from the one at I-ning Street, Hsian-fu, but nothing more. These poems do not prove in any way the fact that either the Nestorian Stone was originally set up at Chou-chih or that the Stone was unearthed at Chou-chih. Nor do they prove the Stone was transported to Hsian-fu."

WU-CHÜN (五郡) NOT A COMMON NOUN; THE PLACE WHERE
A NESTORIAN MONASTERY STOOD.

Such being the case, our next burden of proof is to show the fact that this Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih, as far as we can know, existed at a place called Wu-chün in the District of Chou-chih previous to A.D. 756. It existed more than twenty-five years at least before the Nestorian Monument was set up in A.D. 781. In proof of this we must call the reader's attention to what is written in the Nestorian Monument itself. Now we read in the Inscription: "The Emperor Su-Tsung, Accomplished and Enlightened, rebuilt a Monastery of Luminous Religion (*i.e.* a Nestorian Monastery) at Ling-wu as well as (lit., making it equal to that existing at) Wu-chün" (肅宗文明皇帝於靈武等五郡重立景寺):

And this Wu-chün was and is located in the District of Chou-chih, and at a site adjacent to Wu-chün there stood the Ta-ch'in Temple which was visited by Su Tung-p'o and General Yang as we have seen. Judging from the force of expression used in the Inscription, the Nestorian Monastery at Wu-chün seems to have preceded that of Ling-wu in rank and in grandeur, since the Nestorian Monastery at Wu-chün served as the model to that which was to be rebuilt at Liang-wu in commemoration of the Enthronement of the Emperor Su Tsung which took place in July, A.D. 756 at Ling-wu.

But it must be confessed that we once translated the Chinese sentences in question: "The Emperor Su-Tsung, Accomplished and Enlightened, rebuilt the Monasteries of the Luminous Religion in Ling-wu and four other countries" (Lit. five countries including Ling-wu). We now discover that the word "Wu-chün", which we translated "Ling-wu and four other countries" is not a common noun but is a proper noun of a place in Chou-chih where the Nestorian Monastery stood early in the 8th century. To our great surprise, we find that the words Wu-chün (五郡) and Ta-ch'in (大秦) are two names for one and the same thing. Only in the former expression the name of the place is emphasized, whilst in the latter expression the name of the temple is emphasized. The Ta-ch'in Temple stood once only half a mile away from the old site of Wu-chün. The following are the poems composed by Su Tung-p'o and others on Wu-chün which show that in A.D. 1065 the place was still known by that name:

THE MONASTERY AT WU-CHÜN.

1. Over-shadowed by forests of cedar
Stands the ancient monastic fane,
On precipice height, the grandeur of light,
Looking over the fertile plain.
2. And often, with labouring footsteps,
From the villages far below,
Come the peasants to draw the waters that pour
From Springs and the windswept snow.
3. Some are rivers that roll on grandly,
Some are streamlets that dally in play
Yet great and small, they one and all
Flow North till they join the Wei

4. Ye birds on the wing! Have ye been sent forth
To meet these snow-born rivers?
For ye seem not to fly in the Southern sky
Past the hills where the sun-light quivers.
5. See the Taoist priests, in their priestly robes
As their vows they solemnly render!
No wit less grand than they who stand
In the blaze of Imperial Splendor.
6. The peasants who dwell below the height,
The incense of joy are burning;
For they sought a boon,—and the silk cocoon
Of the Spring will be rich in earning.
7. But in my mind is a thought, O priest!
Can your teacher now unfold
What is really meant by the Law once sent
To that wondrous Sage of old?
8. To the Mountain Spirits, the darkest things
May be as clear as noon;
Yet they'll never divine the mystery benign
Imparted to Lao-tan!

五 郡

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 古 | 觀 | 正 | 依 | 林 | 蘇 | 東 | 坡 |
| 居 | 民 | 來 | 就 | 水 | 麓 | 斷 | |
| 亂 | 溪 | 赴 | 渭 | 爭 | 泉 | 甘 | |
| 飛 | 鳥 | 迎 | 山 | 不 | 趨 | 北 | |
| 羽 | 客 | 衣 | 冠 | 朝 | 復 | 南 | |
| 野 | 人 | 香 | 火 | 祝 | 上 | 象 | |
| 汝 | 師 | 豈 | 解 | 言 | 春 | 蠶 | |
| 山 | 鬼 | 何 | 知 | 託 | 符 | 命 | |
| | | | | | 老 | 鵬 | |

Adapting the rhyme to this poem, the younger brother Su Tzū-yu composed the following:

THE MONASTERY AT WU-CHÜN.

1. We who came from the Province of Shu,
Can not accept, at once, as true
All that is said of the River Ch'in
By those who favour its waters blue.
2. Men, as a rule, in eating cane
Begin from the tip, and later gain
That succulent part where the sweetness lies;
So pleasure is always reached through pain!
3. Strolling along by the river's strand,
I'm forced to think of my own dear land
That lies to the North of the Yangtze River
So sweetly familiar are dust and sand!
4. I notice, too, how the bamboos grow,
I see the streamlets, and well I know
How alike they are in that far-off land
To the South, where the Yangtse waters flow.
5. The Temple, seen through the evening air,
Seems to take the shape of a mountain deer,
Its hind legs rest on the cliff above
As it bends to drink from the water clear.

6. In the mulberry groves, the silk worms feed,
While up the vale, the Spring mists speed,
Stealthily wrapping the sacred shrine;
In gossamer veiling the peaks recede.
7. And still there stands, as in days of old
An ancient Priest, with a heart of gold,
Whose smile, as he greets his welcome guests,
Refreshes the sorrowful,—warms the cold!
8. And he, thus waiting in sun and rain
To welcome all to his holy fane,
This grey-haired priest is perhaps,—who knows—
Lao-tan, the great One,—born again!

五 郡

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 蜀 | 人 | 不 | 信 | 秦 | 蘇 | 子 | 由 |
| 食 | 蔗 | 從 | 梢 | 末 | 川 | 好 | |
| 當 | 道 | 沙 | 塵 | 類 | 及 | 甘 | |
| 依 | 山 | 水 | 竹 | 似 | 河 | 北 | |
| 觀 | 形 | 隨 | 阜 | 飲 | 江 | 南 | |
| 雲 | 氣 | 侵 | 山 | 食 | 溪 | 鹿 | |
| 獨 | 有 | 道 | 人 | 迎 | 葉 | 靈 | |
| 白 | 髮 | 黃 | 袖 | 豈 | 客 | 笑 | |
| | | | | | 非 | 聃 | |

To these poems on Wu-chün we may well add another poem by Chang Ching-hsien (張景先) who was a Taoist priest of the T'ai-p'ing Shrine (太平宮) in the latter part of the 11th century. In A.D. 1086 he composed the following poem in which he sings of the old tradition connected with the monastery at Wu-chün, which tradition conveys to us the idea that the original monastery of Wu-chün was rather unlike an ordinary Buddhist Monastery. His poem has a title added to it, "A thought on the Old Monastery at Wu-chün", and runs as follow:

1. From North to South,—From East to West, two lines;
Here, on this spot, they meet, beneath the pines;
Deep is the Truth that from this meeting shines!
2. To Brethren five, long years ago, there came
A call; five Heroes answer, each the same;
And henceforth men as brethren all acclaim!
3. The provinces, both small and great, are made
At last to unite beneath th' Imperial Shade
Cast by the crimson banner,—unafraid!
4. And through these Brethren, this new brotherhood
Of rich and poor will share a wondrous good,
Will be partakers of th' Immortals' food!
5. For long I mused, with many a loving thought
Of these five Brothers, and the peace they brought
From this, their Monastery, to souls distraught.
6. But as, in solitude, I meditate,
I grieve that such no more illuminate
A world in pain,—Men are degenerate!

五 郡 懷 古

張 景 先

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| 南 | 北 | 與 | 東 | 西 |
| 相 | 逢 | 似 | 有 | 期 |
| 一 | 言 | 生 | 義 | 氣 |
| 四 | 海 | 作 | 連 | 枝 |
| 列 | 郡 | 衣 | 紅 | 錦 |
| 全 | 家 | 茹 | 紫 | 芝 |
| 孤 | 懷 | 本 | 無 | 間 |
| 惆 | 悵 | 不 | 同 | 時 |

THE OLD TRADITION CONCERNING WU-CHÜN.

In reference to the old tradition in connection with Wu-chün, which this Taoist priest lauds so much in his poem and of which even today the topographical books of the District of Chou-chih make much, we may quote what is recorded by Sung Minch'iu (宋敏求) in his book called "Topographical Notes of Ch'ang-an" published, for the first time, in A.D. 1075. The author recorded: "Wu-chün, a walled village, is situated a distance of 30 li south-east of the Prefecture of Chou-chih. The wall of Wu-chün is, however, only 3 li (*i.e.* less than a mile and a half) around. According to an old tradition handed down to us from time immemorial, we are told that there came a fraternal band consisting of five brethren to this spot and settled down. But as for the exact date when the wall was built for the first time nothing is known for certain." (五郡城在縣東南三十里. 周三里. 舊說有義兄弟五人. 共居此城. 不詳建立).

Very short and scanty as this record of the 11th century is, it is sufficient to prove to any candid minded person that the word "Wu-chün" was and is the proper name of a place adjacent to which "the Ta-ch'in Temple" of Chou-chih stood and that the "White Tower" of the Ta-ch'in Temple is still standing there to this very day.

In our opinion the word "Wu-chün" (五郡) which literally means "five prefectures" must originally have meant Wu-chün (五羣) which literally means "a company of five" or "a group of five" indicating this old tradition. We believe the word Wu-chün is very inappropriate to designate such a small place as this whilst the word Wu-chün (五郡) is a very appropriate name for this tiny walled village as it signifies the old tradition as well. Be it as it may, we read in "the Topographical Book of Chou-chih" (整屋縣志): "The five-peaked Ch'iu-mu-shan (邱木山) is situated 35 li east of the prefecture of Chou-chih. In the middle of the hillside forming a table-land of the Tower Valley stands the Ta-ch'in Temple (大秦寺). This Ta-ch'in Temple was repaired in the 4th year of Ch'ien-lung (建隆) (963 A.D.) according to the old monument by its side. Within the premises of the Temple ground there stands "Chen-Hsien Pao-t'a" (鎮仙寶塔) (Lit. Guarding-Immortals' Treasure-Tower). This Tower is an eight-cornered one, being seventy or eighty feet in height, and is said to have originally been built by the order of the Emperor T'ai-tsung (A.D. 627-649)" (五峯邱木山在縣東三十五

里.塔谷山腰有大秦寺舊碣記宋建隆四年重修.寺內有鎮仙寶塔.高約七八丈.八稜形.相傳爲唐太宗勅建).

Such facts and traditions as these prove beyond any doubt that therestood "a Ta-ch'in Temple" on the ground adjacent to a place called Wu-chün (五 郡) in the district of Chou-chih previous to the time when the Nestorian Monument was set up in A.D. 781. Nobody knows, however, where the Nestorian Monument was set up in A.D. 781. We only took it for granted that the Monument was set up in the premises of that "Ta-ch'in Temple" which was built in A.D. 638 at I-ning Street, because we did not know of any Ta-ch'in Temple other than that. But now we have discovered another Ta-ch'in Temple at Wu-chün in Chou-chih, whilst at a certain place in the District of Chou-chih the Nestorian Monument was unearthed in A.D. 1623 as we have said above. But where was it originally set up? In which of the Nestorian Monasteries mentioned in the Inscription, was the Monument originally set up in A.D. 781? In order to decide this question we must refer to the inscription again.

THE FOUR NESTORIAN MONASTERIES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTION IDENTIFIED.

Now, there were four Nestorian Monasteries of note in A.D. 781. As we read in the Inscription: "Still furthermore since the priest I-ssü (伊 斯) took refuge in the Luminous Portals, he spent all his income in benevolent deeds. Every year he assembled the priests of the four monasteries to have their reverent services and earnest offerings of prayers for fifty days" (更効景門.依仁施利.每歲四寺僧徒.虔事精供.備諸五旬). We shall try to identify these four Nestorian Monasteries with those in the four different places mentioned in the Inscription itself. There was, no doubt, one Nestorian Monastery at I-ning Street (義甯坊) in Hsian-fu, originally built in A.D. 638. This must have existed at the time the Monument was set up in A.D. 781, although we have not any positive evidence to prove whether the Nestorian Monument was set up there or no. There was another Nestorian Monastery at Hsiu-shan Street (修善坊) in Loyang. The Syriac name of Loyang is Sarag (ܣܪܓ) as mentioned in the Syriac part of the Inscription. Then, as we read in the Inscription the third Nestorian Monastery was, no doubt, at Wu-chün (五 郡) in Chou-chih, whilst the fourth was rebuilt at Lingwu (靈 武). Let us examine these four Nestorian Monasteries once more. The fact that the Nestorian Monastery was in Hsiu-shan Street in Loyang (洛 陽) previous to A.D. 781 can be proved in various ways. First of all, "it was by the Imperial Edict of A.D. 744, that the two Persian Monasteries which are at the Eastern Capital (Loyang) and the Western Capital (Chang-an) shall be hereafter called by the name of "Ta-ch'in Monastery" and all other Persian Monasteries in the country places shall also be made to conform to this rule." (天寶四載敕曰.....其兩京波斯寺宜改爲大秦寺.天下諸府郡者亦宜準此). This Imperial Edict shows that there was at least one Nestorian Monastery in the Eastern Capital, Loyang.

In the second place, the expression in the Syriac part of the Inscription, "Gabriel (業利) priest and archdeacon and head of the Church of Kumdan ܟܡܕܢ and Sarag (𐤱𐤴𐤒)", and it is now so scholarly proved by Prof. Pelliot (*The T'oung Pao*, 1928, pp. 91-92) that Sarag is no other than the foreign name for Loyang. Finally, we are told by Hsü Sung (徐松) in his book on the "Two Capital Cities of T'ang" (唐兩京城坊考) that there was a Persian Temple in Hsiu-shan Street (次北修善坊波斯胡寺) other than the Zoroastrian or the Manichean Temple. As for the existence of two other Nestorian Monasteries at Ling-wu and Wu-chün, the new translation of the sentences concerned which we mentioned above is sufficient to prove that one Nestorian temple was at Wu-chün and the other was rebuilt at Ling-wu. Judging from the force of the expressions, "The Emperor Su-tsung . . . rebuilt a Monastery of the Luminous Religion at Ling-wu as well as (lit., making it equal to that existing at) Wu-chün" conveys the idea, as we said, that the Nestorian Monastery at Wu-chün was much earlier in time and higher in rank and grander in appearance.

Furthermore, as we have mentioned above, the Nestorian Monastery at Wu-chün had an old tradition that it was founded by "a company of five brethren" as well as the tradition that the white tower of the Ta-ch'in Temple at the ground adjacent of Wu-chün was built by the Imperial orders of the Emperor T'ai-tsung who welcomed the Nestorian Mission in A.D. 635. If such traditions as these should contain any grain of truth it is certain that Wu-chün had a very early connection with the Western Land and that this White Tower of the Ta-ch'in Temple at Wu-chün must be as old as the first Nestorian Monastery built by the Emperor T'ai-tsung in A.D. 638, if not older. Here we may presume, tentatively as it may be, that the Ta-ch'in Temple at Wu-chün with its White Tower will come, in order of time, next to the Temple built at I-ning Street, Hsian-fu, although it will precede that which was built at Loyang as well as that of Ling-wu.

CHOU-CHIH IN THE HISTORY OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY.

Now, historically speaking this place in Chou-chih where a "company of five" settled was really a very important place in the history of the T'ang Dynasty. It was "the Rubicon" or "the Water-loo" for Li Yüan (李淵), the founder of the dynasty. We read in the annals of China, it was at Chou-chih and its neighbouring towns that Li Yüan gained his territorial foothold to march on to the capital in A.D. 617 (資治通鑑隋紀八) (李氏御覽匡武功始平皆下之). And it was in the "Imperial Bamboo Garden" of Chou-chih along the Valley of South Mountain—only a few miles from the place where the Nestorian Monastery stood that Ho P'an-jen (何潘仁), who is said to have been originally "a Foreign Merchant from the Western Lands" (西域胡商) established himself as "the Chief of a great band of brigands" consisting of more than thirty or forty thousand men. Then, it was also from Chou-chih that Li Shih-min (李世民), better known as the great Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang Dynasty marched on Ch'ang-an the capital of China, at the head of one hundred

and thirty thousand men rallied together under his banners in the summer of the same year. At the time the Nestorian Monument was set up in A.D. 781, Chou-chih and its neighbourhood was occupied by the foreign mercenaries consisting of Turks, Mongolians, Uigours and Persians as well as peoples from various parts of India. These mercenaries who occupied Chou-chih and its neighbourhood were known by the name of "Shên-tsé Army" (神策軍, *i.e.* "The God-grant-Strategem-Army"). We read in the Annals of China that "in April A.D. 785 the God-grant-Strategem Army was very active. The greater part of this army was posted in the Western frontiers of the capital and stationed here and there along the Imperial domain" (貞元四年夏四月. 神策尤盛. 多戍京西. 散屯畿甸).

To such official records we may add a quotation from the famous Liu Tsung-yuan (柳宗元, A.D. 773-819). In one of his writings entitled "On the completion of the new Banquet Hall of Chou-chih (整屋縣新食堂記)" he wrote in A.D. 802, "Since the first outbreak of the rebellion [*i.e.* that of General An Lu-shan (安祿山) in A.D. 755-756 followed by that of General Shih Ssü-ming (史思明)] the Western District of the Imperial City became an important strategic point in the defence of the capital; and Chou-chih was made the out-post head-quarters of the Imperial Army for twenty-six years" (自兵興以來. 西郊捍戎. 縣爲壘二十有六年). This shows us clearly that Chou-chih was the centre of activity for the foreign mercenaries consisting of Nestorian Turks and Uigours and Persians as well as Buddhist Hindoos for more than a quarter of a century.

Furthermore, Chou-chih is to the Taoist what Mecca is to the Mohammedan. It was at Chou-chih that the great Temple of Lao-tzŭ stood; and the sacred House of Yin-hsi (尹喜) where Lao-tzŭ spoke his last words of instruction still exists besides many other things equally sacred. Chou-chih was made the more sacred and sanctified ever since the T'ang Dynasty came into power over the millions of China, because Li Yüan (李淵) the founder of the Dynasty happened to have the same family name as that of the "Old Sage" or Lao-tzŭ, whose "lay" name was Li Tan (李聃); and the Emperors of the T'ang all claimed that they were the descendants of the "Old Sage" and that they were more worthy of sovereignty than any other family. And it must be remembered that it was at Chou-chih that the Nestorians in China proper came into closest relation or nearest contact with the Taoists, and this fact will account to a certain degree for the Chinese Nestorian writings so far discovered—the Inscription and the other Nestorian documents—carrying such a strong Taoistic tendency in them.

Still further, it must not be forgotten that Chou-chih was the town that was passed through by Alopen at the head of his Nestorian Mission in A.D. 635 as it was passed through afterward by another Nestorian Mission sent to Ch'ang-an in A.D. 732, with Bishop Cyriac (大德僧及烈) at the head of it (冊府元龜九十一卷三頁及九頁). Then it must be remembered that it was Chou-chih that the Nestorian priests passed through when they were driven away from Ch'ang-an as a result of the Imperial Decree of Prohibition ordered by the Emperor Wu-tsung in A.D. 845. But as we know, the Nestorian soldiers in the service of the Imperial Army of the T'ang and the

Nestorian traders and merchants in China were not forced to leave the country at all while not a few of the Nestorian Missionaries possibly stayed with the Nestorian mercenaries around Chou-chih.

Such being the case it was no wonder that Chou-chih with its Ta-ch'in Temple and White Tower at the adjacent ground of Wu-chün should have been the real centre of the Nestorian activity over the quarter of a century between A.D. 755—A.D. 781. And it is again very natural that the Nestorian Monastery at Chou-chih should have been the centre of "the four Monasteries" mentioned in the Inscription. And who knows that the Nestorian Monument was not originally set up at the Nestorian Monastery in Chou-chih? But what we are chiefly concerned in is that the Nestorian Monument was discovered at Chou-chih in A.D. 1623. Therefore it must have been originally set up somewhere between the town of Chou-chih and Hsian-fu, quite contrary to the theory which simply insists that the Nestorian Monument must have been unearthed not far from the place where it was found standing in A.D. 1625 because it was simply supposed by those who hold such a theory that the Monument must have been originally set up at I-ning Street in A.D. 781 in spite of the fact that positive evidence to prove that very point is not yet found!

NEW PROOFS FOR THE OLD TESTIMONIALS.

So much for Chou-chih in the history of the T'ang Dynasty as well as for the Ta-ch'in Temple and Wu-chün in the District of Chou-chih and the probability of the Nestorian Monument being set up somewhere in this centre of Nestorian life and activity—somewhere where the influence of the Nestorian Priest and General I-ssü was the strongest.

Now let us re-examine what the Jesuit Fathers testified. Father Trigault wrote in *pago Cheuche decem leucis a metropoli distante lapis repertus est*; and Father Bartoli reported also that the Monument was discovered in Chou-chih whilst Father Emmanuel Diaz wrote in his Chinese book (是碑也大明天啓三年。關中官命啓士。于敗橋基下獲之). "Indeed this Monument was discovered under the foundation of a ruined wall [at a certain place] within the four forts [defending the Capital] while people were digging the ground by the orders of the Government during A.D. 1623". Then, again, both Father Dunzt-szpot and Father Bartoli testified, as we are told, that the Monument was discovered at Chou-chih and then transported to Hsian-fu afterward by the orders of a mandarin who was previously the District Governor of Chou-chih.

Father Havret quotes the words of Father Dunzt-szpot on these very important points translating the Latin into French: "*Le gouverneur (le prefet) de la ville de Sigan accaurut aussitôt et vener par une profonde inclination du corps cette antiquité, qu'il ordonna de transporter à Sigan dans un monastère ou couvent Tao-su (Tao-che) qui s'y trouve: ou l'avait en effet trouvée dans des ruines anciennes, auprès de Cheu-che (Tcheou-tche) située a 150 li de Sigan.*" Again, the Father gives a very important quotation from what was written by Father Bartoli regarding the transportation of the monument to Hsian-fu. He says: "*Pres de Ceuce (Tcheou-tche) ou il etait*

gouverneur”—The monument was discovered “near Chou-chih where he was governor.”

Now judging from these testimonials given by the Jesuit Fathers it is plain that the transportation of the Nestorian Monument to Hsian-fu was ordered by “Le Gouverneur (le prefet) de la ville de Sigan” who was formerly the District governor of Chou-chih—“où il était gouverneur.” Now who could be this governor of Hsian-fu—le prefet de la ville de Sigan—who was once the District Governor of Chou-chih? In my opinion this governor must have been Liang K’o-shun (梁克順) as we have mentioned in the beginning of this article. “Le mandarin de Kaan-tchong ayant donné l’ordre de creuser la terre, ou trouva cette pierre sous le fondements d’une muraille en ruine—et on la depos hors de faubourgs à l’interieur du monastère Kin tcheng-se (金城寺)” must correspond to what is written about Liang K’o-shun in the historical books of China.

Above all, we read in the “Topographical Book of Chou-chih” (整屋縣志): “Liang K’o-shun (梁克順) whose fancy name or pseudonym was Chuan-i (篆一) was the District Governor of Chou-chih. He was a native of Yen-ling (鄢陵) in the province of Honan. He was only a second degree of licentiate. But he was elder brother to Liang K’o-tsung (梁克從), the former District Governor of Chou-chih, and through the great influence of his younger brother Liang K’o-shun was appointed to the post of District Governor of Chou-chih in the 48th year of Wanli (萬曆, A.D. 1620), in spite of the fact that he had only the second degree of licentiate. But he was a man of great ability and proved a very successful magistrate. His decision was quick but fair, whilst his management of affairs was to the purpose. Every thing tending to go to wrack and ruin was revived all at once. Among his innumerable deeds of great merit, however, none elicits our admiration more than the rigorous measures he took in defending his people from robbers and murderers as well as in rescuing the inhabitants from calamities of all sorts.

He also had agriculture encouraged among the inhabitants of the District and gave orders to have many canals opened and many drains built and the roads repaired or newly constructed. Thus he improved every facility of the water supply and every means of irrigating the locality, and made his beneficial administration almost immortalized. It is no wonder therefore that he should be made, by the special selection of the Emperor, a member of the Censorate (御史) as soon as his term of office in Chou-chih expired. He wrote a book called ‘Outline of the Government of the posterior Liang Dynasty’.

“The venerable name of Liang K’o-shun was added to the list of distinguished government officials to be remembered in the daily worship; in addition a shrine was dedicated to him at Ta-chien-shê while he was still alive. Sêng Shao-hsü of Ch’ang-an composed the inscription therein describing the merits of the District Governor of Chou-chih.” (梁克順號篆一, 河南鄢陵舉人, 前令克從兄, 由舉人萬曆四十八年任, 具雄才政務振肅, 剖決如流, 廢墜悉舉, 其德澤之最深著者, 莫如捍寇恤災, 勵士勸農而開濬渠通, 大興

水利。則百世猶賴之。任滿擢御史。著有後梁政略。祀名宦祠邑大堅社立生祠。長安馮少墟撰碑記)。

In comparing these Chinese records with the above mentioned quotations from the records kept by the Jesuit Fathers of the 17th century, we cannot fail to see that they agree in two important points. In the first place, "the digging of the ground carried out by the orders of the Governor" as recorded by Father Diaz and others exactly corresponds to the very digging of the ground executed in the district of Chou-chih by the orders of Governor Liang during his term of office which lasted three full years—between the spring of A.D. 1620 and that of A.D. 1623, as far as the time and place of the excavation in question are concerned; whilst in the second place, the transportation of this historic Christian Monument from the District of Chou-chih to Hsian-fu took place after the Governor was promoted to the higher post and came to reside at Hsian-fu as a member of the censorate enjoying still the title of Governor *honoris causa*.

And if these points are once established on the proof of these Chinese writings, then all the Jesuit Fathers' records bearing testimony regarding the time and place of the discovery of the Nestorian Monument will be accepted with much stronger force and we shall come to find that even what is reported to be Father Semedo's words often used to disprove the Chou-chih theory—"non loin de laquelle on l'avait trouvé, c'est à dire, pres de Sigan fu, Capitale du la province du Xensi"—would not disagree after all with what we have said for what this great Jesuit Father who came and saw and examined the monument in A.D. 1628 says is simply that this monument was discovered *not far from Hsian-fu*. He does not declare that the Monument was discovered within the City Gate of Hsian-fu or in the premises of the old Taoist Temple where he closely examined the Monument, although Father Semedo's words are very often used otherwise. He never used the words to deny that the Stone was discovered in Chou-chih, one of the Western Districts of Hsian-fu at the time of the discovery.

And in conclusion we have only to say that if all these various facts and quotations from different authors at home and abroad, ancient and modern, should help in solving the old problems—so far remaining unsolved—concerning the time and place of this unique Christian Monument in China, then our labour, humble and insignificant as it is, may not be in vain, and we hope we shall be exculpated from the blame that we have been carrying too much coal to Newcastle.

THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TO PEACE AND WAR IN PRE-CONFUCIAN TIMES

By MARGARET HELEN BROWN

1. INTRODUCTION

Chinese frequently assert that they are not an aggressive people. Indeed, the statement is often made positively. They say they are a peace-loving race. Occidentals, who have never been to China, are puzzled by these claims. They read Chinese history and it appears to them as one long story of rebellion and war. They read in current literature, lurid accounts of civil war and banditry, and wonder not a little how such a legend grew up and, having grown up, on what grounds the present generation still dare to maintain it. But this attitude is not peculiar to Occidentals who have never visited China. Many of those who have spent the major portion of their life here, are quite as puzzled. Both groups eagerly read the multiplicity of books about China that continue to pour from the press in many languages, but find little light shed on this problem.

No one seems to have made a special study of this subject. In the chapter on "The China of the Book of Poetry" in the Prolegomena of the *She King*—hereafter to be referred to as the Book of Poetry—Legge says that the Marquis d'Hervey Saint Denys claimed that the Chinese were not a militaristic people. Legge did not agree with him and said:—

"It may be allowed that the natural tendency of the She as a whole is not to excite a military spirit, but to dispose to habits of peace; yet as a matter of fact there has not been less of war in China than in other lands."¹

Unfortunately, Legge did not make a detailed study of the subject. Such a study from so fine a Chinese scholar would have been of very real value. But as he did not, and no one else seems to have done it since, it is necessary to examine the sources for first-hand evidence.

¹ Legge, Chinese Classics, *She King*, Proleg., p. 141. All the translations are from this book unless otherwise specified.

This study has been confined to pre-Confucian times. The reason for doing so is, that the period of Chinese History is so long and the limitations necessarily imposed are such, that it is impossible to take it in its entirety. The study stops short of the arrival of Confucius upon the scene, not because it was felt that Confucius introduced something new, but rather because it was felt that there was to be found in this period in essence much of what Confucius and those great minds that followed him, believed and taught. In other words, the roots of Chinese thought are here.

Modern Chinese scholars generally agree that the only book which undoubtedly dates back to pre-Confucian times is the Book of Poetry. The date of the Book of History is still under dispute, though much of it is now believed to be a forgery of a much later time. For this reason the Book of Poetry has been used to furnish the major portion of the materials for this study but the portions of the Book of History that are thought to be also of that period have been used for verification.

Scientists may object because this study is confined mainly to written documents. They may well say that in any search for racial tendencies one should go back beyond the period of written records and study the race in its primitive state. But there is a real difficulty in this case. Neither anthropology nor archaeology has as yet shed any certain light upon the origin of the Chinese people. One stumbles upon them through their early written records. By that time they had already become a highly-cultured people settled along the valley of the Yellow river in the heart of what is known to the world as China. If ever they had a nomadic period, all memory of that period seemed to have died out before they committed the Odes to writing. In them is presented a picture of a people with a highly organized government. They cultivated several kinds of millet and planted mulberry trees. Their horses and chariots presented a fine array and ladies decked themselves with highly-ornamented dresses and sparkling jewels. They managed to cross the difficult currents of the Yellow river in boats, and wrote down their thoughts in intricate forms of writing. One would fain go behind the picture and glimpse the youth of the race, but an impenetrable veil hides it from our view for the present. In recent years, archaeologists have been uncovering an ancient culture at An Yang, North Honan. This place was the capital of the late Shang, or as it is frequently called, Yin dynasty. This capital was destroyed by the Chous when they established their own dynasty several hundred years before the birth of Confucius. Other discoveries of the Chalcolithic or Yang-Shao culture have been made in Southern Manchuria, Honan and Kansu.² But up to the present the study of these finds is not sufficiently advanced to make any certain deductions, though the oracle bones serve to verify our written records.

2. THE BOOK OF POETRY

The Book of Poetry is a collection of three hundred and five ballads, hymns, songs of war, love, labour and worship, which were

² K. S. Latourette, *The Chinese, Their History and Their Culture*, Vol. I, p. 35.

composed well before the time of Confucius.³ They give a vivid portrayal of the life of that period as told by men, women, kings, queens, concubines, farmers, soldiers, officers, officers' wives, maids and harlots. Their very wide variety provides clear pictures of the real life of the people in different walks of life.

There is evidence that the Book of Poetry was in much its present form in pre-Confucian times. Legge says:

"The Book of Poetry, arranged very much as we have it was current in China long before the sage; and its pieces were in the mouths of statesmen and scholars, constantly quoted by them on festive occasions."³

Modern scholars have examined the evidence further and their judgment endorses Legge's view.⁴ Thirty of the odes in the Chou Sung are believed to belong to the earlier period of the Western Chou (between 1122 and 770 B.C.). The majority of them show evidence of having been written about the end of the Western and the beginning of the Eastern Chou.

Before attempting to search in the odes for the basic attitudes of mind of these early Chinese, it is essential to know whether we find in them a fair representation of the literature of the times. Also it is necessary to know whether they have been so well censored and expurgated that they represent only what was pleasing to the official minds of the times. Until very recently, Chinese scholars maintained that the odes had been collected and edited by Confucius from a collection of three thousand or more poems. This was based on the authority of Ssü-ma Ch'ien and Chu Hsi.⁵ But Legge found that as far back as the Ch'ien Lung period a scholar by name of Chao Yi, examined the evidence and decided that it was "sufficient to show that Ch'ien's statement is not worthy of credit."⁶ Legge came to the following conclusion about the matter:

"Confucius may have made a copy for the use of his disciples; but it does not appear that he rejected any piece which had been previously received, or admitted any which had not previously found a place in the collection."⁷

Mr. Zi confirms Legge's judgment and tells us that modern scholars believe that the only connection Confucius had with them, was that he studied them and recommended them to others.⁸ As to whether or not they were censored before the time of Confucius, scholars are not certain. There seems to be no reference to a censorship and the fact that they so often condemn the rulers, leaves the impression that they have not been touched. That they have thus been preserved in this early form is due chiefly to the admiration that Confucius expressed for them and the enthusiasm for them he has inspired in all who venerated him. It is safe to assume that in them we have a very reliable picture of the manners, characteristics, and mind of the early Chinese people. Legge says they give us a faithful picture of, "what was good and what was bad in the political state of the country, and in the social habits of the people."⁹

³ Legge, Proleg., p. 5.

⁴ D. H. Zi's Ph.D. Thesis, "The Idea of God in the Chinese Classics," p. 30.

⁵ Legge's Proleg., p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸ Zi, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁹ Legge's Proleg., p. 140.

The odes have played an important part in moulding the thought of the Chinese all down through the centuries. Hu Shih says that by the sixth century B.C., the odes had become the most popular book everywhere.

"It was the text book for literary education and for good manners. Its songs were sung at every meeting of princes, nobles, and knights. It was quoted in conversations of the time. Confucius once asked his son, 'Have you studied the Book of Poetry? You cannot learn to talk without studying it.' . . . It taught the people to think." ¹⁰

It found a place in the Chinese Canon, which provided the only textbooks used by China up to modern times, and has been the only guide in every aspect of national life. Quotations from the Book of Poetry are still to-day on the lips of both scholar and peasant, in every-day life.

Of the three hundred and five odes in the collection, about one hundred may for all practical purposes be eliminated from this study. They deal with varied subjects such as love, jealousy, feasting, etc. and do not appear to have any bearing on our subject. Many of this number were believed by early Chinese commentators to be allusive. But Legge could find no evidence that they had a deeper significance than what appeared on the surface. All of these have been omitted from this study.

A reading of the remainder of these odes, undoubtedly gives one the feeling that there is frequently a background of war. One sees the soldier bidding good-bye to his family and setting out on a military expedition with a glittering array of spears and the rumblings of many war-chariots. One seems to hear the beat of the war-drums and glimpse the sentinel on watch at the frontier. Families flee from the perils of war and princes return victoriously from the front. Indeed, more than one half of these odes make reference to something pertaining to war.

If this were the whole of the picture, there would be no need to go further with this study. The conclusion would be that the Chinese are a militaristic people indeed. But that is a small part of what the odes tell. There is so much of the other side of the picture. A study of the social, political and religious system of their time can be made from them and should show whether there was anything in them that would militate against an aggressive militarism and help to establish the Chinese claim.

3. THE FAMILY IN PRE-CONFUCIAN TIMES

The Book of Poetry furnishes the best material for a study of Chinese family life in this early period. Legge says that it was with intention that their family life was written into the odes.

"The reason why the kings in their progresses had the odes of the different states collected and presented to them, was that 'they might judge from them of the manners of the people' and so come to a decision regarding the government and morals of their rulers." ¹¹

¹⁰ S. H. Chen Zen, *Symposium of Chinese Culture*, p. 35.

¹¹ Legge, *Proleg.*, p. 18.

The family was the social unit. It was highly organized and patriarchal in form.¹² It was exogamous and monogamous, though kings and nobles were allowed more than one wife.¹³ The odes make many references to this permitted polygamy which has survived right up to the present. The reason for this seems to have been that their ancestor worship required that the family be continued at all costs.

The bonds of affection that held the family together were very strong. There was true affection between husband and wife. One wife pours forth her longing thus:

"O for rain! O for rain!
But brightly the sun shines forth
Lovingly I think of my husband
Till my heart is weary and my head aches." ¹⁴

And another wife felt life to be without flavour when her husband was absent:

"Since my husband went to the East,
My head has been like the flying pappus of the artemesia.
It is not that I could not anoint and wash it;
But for whom should I adorn myself?" ¹⁵

This affection was shared by the husband. The husband constantly complained of the separation from his wife:

"Every plant is purple,
Every man is torn from his wife,
Alas for us on these expeditions!" ¹⁶

Children were much loved. Indeed in family affection for them consisted the true beauty and joy of living.

"Loving union with wife and children
Is like the music of lutes." ¹⁷

and:

"For the ordering of your families,
For your joy in your wife and children,
Examine this and study it;—
Will you not find it is truly so?" ¹⁸

But husband, wife and children were only a part of the Chinese family. It was a much larger unit. It was more like a clan with several generations living together. The little villages of this time seem to have been really one big family. Granet says, "Une village enferme une vaste famille très unie et très homogène."¹⁹ China to-day has still many villages whose names show that they were originally the home of one family.

The bonds of affection holding this larger group together were, if anything, a little stronger than those between husband, wife and children. To be called a good brother—and by 'brother' cousins were also meant—was the acme of praise. It was the larger loyalty that, in their estimation, made for enduring happiness:

¹² Wilkinson, *The Family in Classical China*, p. 72.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁴ Odes, I, v, VIII.

¹⁵ Odes, I, v, VIII.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, viii, X.

¹⁷ Granet, *La Religion des Chinois*, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, i, IV.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, i, IV.

"Loving union with wife and children
Is like the music of lutes;
But it is the accord of brothers
That makes the harmony and happiness lasting." ²⁰

Few Occidentals grasp fully the strength of this family affection. The ode from which this verse is quoted gives a splendid expression of it:

"The flowers of the cherrytree—
Are they not gorgeously displayed?
Of all the men of the world
There are none equal to brothers.

On the dreaded occasions of death and burial,
It is brothers who greatly sympathize,
When fugitives are collected on the heights and low grounds
They are brothers who will seek out one another.

Your dishes may be set in array,
And you may drink to satiety,
But it is when your brothers are all present
That you are harmonious and happy with child-like joy."

In reading this one begins to understand why it is that in China the biggest waster of the family may come trustingly back home assured of his share of the family food.

Filial piety was the heart and core of this family affection. It has a three-fold nature. A filial son had to nourish his parents when they were alive; perform all the rites and wear the proper mourning when they were dead and sacrifice to them when the period of mourning was over.²¹ The requirements of this duty obligated the son to remain at home, if possible, during the life time of his elders and to live as they did even after they had died. King Woo was their great model:

"Ever thinking how to be filial,
His filial mind was the mode (which he supplied);
Ever thinking how to be filial,
He brilliantly continued the doings (of his fathers.)"²²

This urge to live just as your ancestors did was a strong antidote against any budding schemes of adventure.

According to Mencius, the most unfilial act of all was to have no sons.²³ This grew out of their belief that the dead lived on and had to be nourished by the living. It was this urge that permitted polygamy and we find that it was only in desperate straits that they would adopt a son. This made it absolutely necessary for a young man to remain at home until he was assured of an heir.

Filial piety touched every phase of their life for they believed that the dead had power to return good or evil to their posterity—and constantly did so—according to the treatment given them. Hence any calamity that befell them was attributed to their failure to fulfill these duties and they could only look for prosperity when these were meticulously performed.

²⁰ *Odes*, II, i, IV.

²¹ *Li Ki*, B, xxii, 3.

²² J. L. Stewart, *Chinese Culture and Christianity*, p. 98.

²³ *Odes*, III, i, IX.

"For such filial piety, without ceasing,
There will ever be conferred blessing on you."²⁴

Thus a sense of solidarity grew up among the members of the family which became a dominant trait making for social stability that withstood the shocks of the great political upheavals throughout the centuries.

This joint undivided family was also the cultivating group. In summer the whole village went out and lived in little huts on their land as many still do in China to-day.²⁵ Here is a picture of the group clearing the land together:

"They clear away the grass and the bushes,
And the ground is laid open by their plough,
In thousands of pairs they remove the roots,
Some in low wet lands and some along the dike."²⁶

They also reap the grain together:

"Then come the reapers in crowds,
And the grain is piled up in the fields,
Myriads and hundreds of thousands and millions (of stacks)"²⁷

The women and children prepare the food and bring it to the labourers:

"There are those who come to see them,
With their baskets round and square,
Containing the provision of millet."²⁸

Agriculture was, in itself, an end of living and not just a means to an end. In one ode they protested:

"Do not punish us,
We have not been remiss in our husbandry."²⁹

So the solidarity of the family is not one of blood alone but has a definite link with the land. Granet holds that the relation of the family group with the soil was so close in early days that the corpse was deposited on the family ground not far from the home and left to decompose. Each new member was considered a re-incarnation of the substance of their ancestors.³⁰ This link between the people and the land is still a dominant trait in Chinese life. The population of the country is still preponderatingly rural and even the one who has left the ancestral home still looks forward to having his body rest in the ancestral soil after his death.

The examination of the family in this early period has shown that it was a highly-organized social unit. It occupied a village and was thus also a political unit. It had great solidarity and was bound together by the obligations of filial piety and ancestor worship which gave it a territorial as well as a social aspect. Its very nature must have made it look upon war as an unnatural event for war takes the young men from home just at the time when they should be rearing a family and always there were the old people to whom the younger

²⁴ *Odes*, III, ii, III.

²⁵ *Odes*, III, i, III.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, (iii), V.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, (iii), V.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, (iii), VI.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, iii, V.

³⁰ Granet, *op. cit.*, p. 27-28.

generation owed support in life and in death. All these obligations were of first importance to the individual for in fulfilling them well lay the only hope for prosperity or peace. To fail in this matter was to bring calamity not only upon the individual but upon the group.

4. GOVERNMENT IN PRE-CONFUCIAN TIMES

At the time of the odes, China was still in process of being moulded from numerous small states, or tribes, into one large one. One of these was known as the Royal state and its king claimed sovereignty over the others. Each of these others was ruled by a prince who held the land by royal grant at the commencement of each dynasty or subsequently. He owed allegiance to the king. However, there were times when the princes of the leading states became so powerful that they encroached on the land of the Royal state and did sometimes try to wrest the sceptre from the king. Because of this the power of the sovereign was often more nominal than real.³¹

The king was, in name, an absolute monarch. But, as will be shown, it was not absolute in the sense understood in the West. The succession to the throne was never strictly hereditary for usually before his death the sovereign indicated the heir apparent.³²

The sovereign was supposed to receive his appointment from God or Heaven, as it was frequently expressed. King Woo was "Kinged by God".³³ The first sovereign of Shang "received the appointment" from Heaven.³⁴ It was because of this belief that the emperor was thought of as the "Son of Heaven".

They believed that the sovereign received definite assurance of the appointment:

"In process of time Wan and Woo
Continued the work of King Tae,
And the purpose of Heaven was carried out in its time,
In the plains of Mu.
'Have no doubts, no anxieties' it was said,
'God is with you'."³⁵

Because of this certainty he was able to worship God on behalf of the people:

"He offers sacrifices without error,
To the great and sovereign God."³⁶

It was thought that Heaven gave the appointment to one who was virtuous. It was for this that Tang received it:

"Tang was not born too late,
And his wisdom and virtue daily advanced.
Brilliant was the influence of his character (on Heaven) for long,
And God appointed him to be the model for the nine regions."³⁷

³¹ Legge, *Proleg.*, p. 45.

³² Hawks-Pott, *A Sketch of Chinese History*, p. 12.

³³ *Odes*, IV, i, (i), IX.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, iii, III.

³⁵ *Odes*, IV, ii, IV.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, IV.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, iii, IV.

Another sovereign "did what was right"³⁸ while still another was "always striving to accord with the will of Heaven".³⁹ There are, in all, twenty-four odes which specifically praise the virtue of a ruler and from them one may get a clear idea what being virtuous required of a sovereign.

A virtuous sovereign was thought to be a truly moral subject. There are five long odes, not included in the twenty-four mentioned above, that are exhortations to the sovereign on the duty of living a morally good life. Here is a good example:

"As for the circumstances of the present time,
You are bent on error and confusion in your government.
Your virtue is subverted,
You are besotted by drink,
Although you thus pursue nothing but pleasure
How is it that you do not consider your relations to the past,
That you may hold fast their wise laws."⁴⁰

For the ruler to indulge his evil passions, was to degrade both the country and himself. In one ode, King Yew is bitterly attacked for his besotted attachment to the concubine Pao Sze, for whom he had degraded his rightful queen.

A sovereign who made more land available for cultivation by the people, was accounted virtuous. Yü is the first outstanding example of this:

"Yea all the Southern hill
Was made manageable by Yü
Its plains and marshes being opened up,
It was made into fields by the distant descendant."⁴¹

The Chinese are still lost in admiration of his great engineering feat, in thus draining the land and building the dykes to prevent future disasters. He never thought of himself but worked always for the welfare of his people and they said of him, "Intelligent is he and wise . . . never idle day or night."⁴²

Yü is only one of the many who receive praise for this virtue of making the land available for cultivation. King Tae did the same.⁴³ The emphasis on making more land available for cultivation is understood when one knows that that part of the country seems even in those far-off days to have been subject to droughts and floods that brought untold suffering to the people.⁴⁴ Their basic need for food must have been constantly threatened by these recurring droughts and the tragic vagaries of the Yellow river which flowed through the heart of ancient China and must even then have been 'China's Sorrow'. Small wonder that making more land available for cultivation was the first duty of a virtuous sovereign.

But he had to do more than make land available. He was expected to see that they had their material needs supplied. He was judged by the measure of content that his subjects enjoyed⁴⁵ and they could only be content when material needs were supplied. They did not expect to get something for nothing but took delight in sowing, reaping,

³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, i, VI.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, III, i, IX.

⁴⁰ *Odes*, III, iii, II.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, vi, VI.

⁴² *Ibid.*, III, iii, VI.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, i, VI.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, III, iii, IV.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I, xvi, I.

hunting and preparing warm clothes for the winter. But they did expect the ruler to preserve that peace which would enable them to do all that was necessary. Then only did they gladly praise him saying:

"Let us kill our lambs and sheep,
And go to the house of our prince,
There raise the cup of rhinoceros horn
And wish him long life—that he may live forever."⁴⁶

They seem to have felt, in a very real way, that their duty to their sovereign was linked to their production from the land. It was supposed that the art of agriculture had been taught them by a sovereign. The legend of the emperor Shên Nung, who was the father of agriculture, may have been a later invention than this time but the odes tell us that How-tseih taught them:

"To know how the millet ripened early
And the sacrificial millet late,
And first to sow the pulse and then the wheat."⁴⁷

That the sovereign felt this obligation also is shown by the annual spring ceremony in which up to recent times the emperor and his consort participated in agriculture and silk-worm culture. As a disturber of this natural life, aggressive war would be viewed by the people as releasing them in part from their obligation to their sovereign.

The sovereign was expected to rule as much by example as by active participation in affairs. If he were virtuous, it was believed that all officials under him would model themselves from him and the people would copy the officials and all would be well.

"Let superior men come into office,
And that would bring rest to the people's hearts,
Let the superior men do justly and angers would disappear."⁴⁸

In this is seen the Chinese philosophy of government that is so different from that of the West. It was not necessary for the government to make a lot of laws or meddle in the various phases of life. All that was necessary was to have a ruler who had high ideals and lived up to them and his example would be so powerful that government would not be necessary.

"Let your practice of virtue
Be entirely good and admirable.
Watch over your behaviour,
And allow nothing in your demeanour,
Counting no excess, doing nothing injurious;—
There are few who will not in such a case take you for their
pattern."⁴⁹

The Chinese felt that they knew how a ruler could attain to this perfection. They were essentially pragmatic in their philosophy. They looked back to the period when the country had been most prosperous and happy and saw that they had had virtuous kings. And believing that these kings had found the way to live harmoniously with the plan of Heaven, what would be more natural than that they should feel that all a sovereign needed to do was to live as they did. "Take

⁴⁶ *Odes*, I, iv, V.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, IV.

⁴⁸ *Odes*, II, iv, VII.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, III, iii, I.

your pattern of King Wan" one ode said,⁵⁰ and another one informs that King Wan "conformed to the pattern of his ancestors."⁵¹ Thus to them it became a necessity to maintain the ancient patterns, as in doing so lay the only possibility of preserving the stability of the country.

"Alas! Our formers of plans,
Do not take the ancients for their patterns,

But we are going on like a stream flowing from a spring,
And will sink in a common ruin."⁵²

When the sovereign failed to live up to these requirements, they believed that Heaven sent down warnings in the form of, what seemed to them, unnatural occurrences such as eclipses, drought and pestilence of various kinds.⁵³ When he did not heed these warnings but "on the contrary he proceeds to (greater) evil" the officials became negligent and the princes in the end refused to come to the aid of King Yew and the capital was destroyed and the Western Chou ended. This, they believed, was a definite punishment from Heaven for variation from the norm set by Heaven for his appointed king.

But the tragedy of this was that it brought distress to people who were really not responsible for the condition of affairs. Famine and pestilence caused untold suffering to them. Indeed, any slight swerving from the right path on the part of the sovereign was paid for by the people.

"Who holds the ordering of the kingdom?
Not attending himself to the government,
The issue is toil and pain for the people."⁵⁴

And in their opinion there was no escape from it:

"Great Heaven makes no mistakes.
If you go on to deteriorate in your virtue
You will bring great distress to the people."⁵⁵

It was because of this belief that the people in China acquired a very real power, and the monarch never became entirely absolute. The king was always obliged to keep a close eye on the condition of the people for, when they suffered, it was thought to be a sure sign that Heaven was displeased with his government. Later this developed into the idea that "Heaven hears as my people hear."⁵⁶ Thus was developed a democratic ideal which made the position of the sovereign less secure.

Indeed, failing to regard the people's welfare was thought to bring certain disaster to the sovereign:

"Shall not those whom great Heaven does not approve,
Surely as the waters flow from a spring,
Sink down in ruin?"⁵⁷

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, III, i, I.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, III, i, VI.

⁵² *Ibid.*, I, v, II.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, II, iv, X.

⁵⁴ *Odes*, II, iv, VII.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, III, iii, III.

⁵⁶ *Shoo*, V, i, II, 7.

⁵⁷ *Odes*, III, iii, II.

It had done so in the case of Yin,⁵⁸ and the final punishment which they felt was sure to come was the removal of the appointment by Heaven. The odes are full of warnings. "The appointment is not easily preserved,"⁵⁹ and "It is not easy to be king."⁶⁰ They had this assurance from no less a person than King Wan himself.

"King Wan said 'Alas!'
It is not God that has caused this evil time
But it arises from Yin's not having used the old ways.
There is still your ancient statutes and laws,
And you will not listen to them,
And so your appointment is being overthrown."⁶¹

So the people had even in this very early period a very real, if somewhat intangible, check upon the power of the sovereign for:

"When Heaven by its will is inspecting the kingdom
The lower people are to be feared."⁶²

The odes make it clear that the same obligation to virtue lay upon all who held office whether prince, minister or officer. They represented the king in a lower sphere just as, in a sense, the king was thought to represent Heaven. Indeed the whole form of government was like a type of a large Chinese family where the king was the head and enjoyed privileges and obligations. Duke Woo when he was over ninety expressed the official relation to the people. They were to be treated "as if they were children."⁶³ And to this day the local county officials are called the "father-mother officials." The chief care of the officials must always be for the people and when they acted otherwise it was believed that Heaven sent down the same kind of warnings that were given to the king. This is how Heaven warned the wicked minister of King Yew:

"The sun was eclipsed,
A thing of very evil omen.
Then the moon became small.
Henceforth the lower people
Will be in a very deplorable case.

The sun and the moon announce evil
Not keeping to their proper paths.
All through the kingdom there is no (proper) government
Because the good are not employed.

Grandly flashes the lightning of the thunder;—
There is a want of rest, a want of good.
The streams all bubble and overflow
The crags on the hill top fall down.
High banks become valleys
Deep valleys become hills."⁶⁴

We know from Legge's notes on this ode that all these happenings were matters of history so that this must always have been a powerful argument for making the officials put the welfare of the people above all else.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, III, iii, I.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III, i, I.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, III, i, II.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, III, iii, I.

⁶² *Ibid.*, IV, iii, V.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, III, iii, II.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, II, iv, IX.

The people expected to be consulted before any great undertaking that affected seriously their normal life was undertaken. This was the case of the prince who uprooted them and carried them to another place without consulting them:

"This Hwang-foo
Will not acknowledge that he is acting out of season.
Why does he call us to action,
Without consulting us?
He has removed our walls and our roofs,
And our fields are all either a marsh or a moor,
He says, 'I am not injuring you;
The law requires that thus it should be?'"⁶⁵

It is plain that Hwang-foo had tried to argue the matter, claiming that the law required them to obey. But as they were suffering through his folly, they did not admit his claim. It was their right to be consulted. The contrast is shown in the case of Duke Lew who also removed the people to a new home.

"Of generous devotion to the people was Duke Lew,
He had surveyed the plain (where he was settled);
(The people) were numerous and crowded;
In sympathy with them he made proclamation (of
his contemplated measure).
And there were no perpetual sighings about it."⁶⁶

So it was that even in these early days they claimed the right to refuse obedience when the ruler acted against their interests. It was as though, in the last analysis, the sovereignty was vested, through them, in the ruler. Because of this their sovereigns never became like the absolute monarchs who could claim obedience on every occasion.

This feudal form of government as found at this period permitted the states a very considerable liberty in the administration of their internal affairs and in their relations with one another.⁶⁷ They were supposed to pay their homage, military service when required, and a tribute to the sovereign, and for this were granted this large measure of independence.⁶⁸ They would pay court visits and exchange friendly visits one with the other. All important events were to be communicated to all the states while any attack on a state was to be reported at once to the king who would rally all the states to deal justice to the offender.

In turn the rulers of the states permitted the villages a similar sort of independence. Y. K. Leung and L. K. Tao in their 'Village and Town Life in China' tell us that a Chinese village was nearly as independent as a self-governing British dominion. It had perfect freedom of industry, trade, religion, local government and protection of the locality. They merely paid a small tax to the government which was expected to leave them to their peaceful pursuits.⁶⁹ This may be a little overstatement but certainly is close to the truth.

This form of government seems to have been well adapted to the needs of the people. Legge says:

⁶⁵ *Odes*, II, iv, IX.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, III, ii, VI.

⁶⁷ Ch'un Ts'ew, Proleg., p. 113.

⁶⁸ Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁶⁹ Leung & Tao, p. 7.

"I am inclined to believe that the system . . . did in a degree mitigate the evils of the prevailing disorder."⁷⁰

Latourette says:

"Before the break up of the old feudalism toward the latter part of the Chou, there seems for centuries to have been a kind of stability—uneasy and not too secure—and recognized order."⁷¹

So it had both strength and weakness. Legge says it weakened the bond of loyalty to the king.⁷² It did permit the people to develop and maintain their culture even through political disturbances, and to acquire that independent spirit that is a notable trait in the character of the Chinese peasant and which can only come from a sense of the importance of the people. Its weakness is still noticeable today in the difficulty experienced in organizing a strong central government.

It is clear that this form of government must always have been a hindrance to aggressive plans. No sovereign could count on the obedience of the people. They believed that their welfare was of primary importance to Heaven who was pleased with the sovereign only when he fulfilled his duty to the people. As war caused them suffering, they had a right to expect that they would be consulted as to the value of it, and it was not easy to convince them of value when it caused disturbance in their regular routine. One ode gives a definite warning against aggressiveness:

"Do not try to cultivate fields too large,
The weeds will only grow luxuriantly."⁷³

So they stoutly maintained their belief in their right to be the judges of their own destinies even in the face of sovereigns who maintained that they owed absolute obedience. But though they endured much throughout the centuries, and sometimes not daring to murmur aloud, they still did not relinquish it. For them the ideal ruler was one who made it possible for the people to carry on their peaceful pursuits without undue interference.

5. RELIGION IN PRE-CONFUCIAN TIMES.

The religion of this period has been given the name of Sinism.⁷⁴ It is thought to be a combination of the religion of Shang and Chou, after Chou conquered Shang.

The nature of the religion of Shang has been partly revealed through the study of the recently-discovered oracle bones of Honan. Hu Shih summarizes it thus:

"We may infer that the Shang people were devout worshippers of dead ancestors, that they had apparently no worship of a supreme God, and they believed in divination, and that every important activity of the state, from hunting to war, was decided by reading the oracular answers in the burnt crackings on the tortoise shells or animal bones. It was from the Shang people that the worship of ancestors and the belief in divination came to be integral parts of the sinitic religion."⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Ch'un Ts'ew, Proleg., p. 116.

⁷¹ Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁷² Ch'un Ts'ew, Proleg., p. 116.

⁷³ Odes, I, iv, VI.

⁷⁴ H. G. Creel, *Sinism*, p. 39.

⁷⁵ S. H. Chen Zen, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

It is clear in the odes that there was a belief in a supreme God (Shang-ti) who is frequently called august Heaven (Hao-t'ien).⁷⁶ Hu Shih believes it was the religion of the Chou and was superimposed on the conquered Shang, and that the two gradually became merged into a national religion which recognized a form of monotheism while accepting the worship of ancestors.⁷⁷ Besides this there was a belief in the lesser gods of natural forces such as the sun, moon, mountains, and rivers.⁷⁸

Though we do not know for certain when or how the Chinese came to believe that their dead lived on and were dependent upon the living for support, by the time of the odes it had become the popular belief of the people. It forms the major theme of many odes. The first and third books in the last section of the odes, profess to consist of sacrificial odes used in the temple services of the kings of Chou and Shang. Here it is plain that the dead had to be supported and that they were supposed to reward those who performed these duties well.

"Their spirits happily enjoy the offerings;
Their filial descendants receive blessing:—
They will reward him with great happiness,
With myriads of years, life without end." ⁷⁹

This belief of the people was a potent factor in holding the Chinese at home, for these ceremonies had to be performed on appointed days in spring, summer, autumn, and winter.⁸⁰ Thus all plans for campaigns abroad had to reckon with this belief.

The belief in a supreme God who was all-powerful and all-seeing was held by both sovereign and people but the obligations of worship nearly all rested upon the sovereign. He received his commission from this supreme ruler⁸¹ and it was his duty to maintain the favour of this supreme being. Thus religion had a political significance but it was quite different from that which attached to the theory of the divine right of kings held in many western countries.

The supreme God was for them a moral God. He rewarded good and punished evil. This was shown in the section on government. But there were evidently a few who were skeptical on this subject:

"The great God is inconstant in his kindness,
And he has spread famine and destroyed the nations.
The great God is wrathful: He thinks not, nor plans.
Let alone the guilty ones who are destroyed
How about the innocent ones who perish with them!" ⁸²

NOTE—Since writing this article Mr. J. M. Menzies, who was one of the early discoverers of the oracle bones and has done considerable research on the subject, has published in the *Honan Quarterly*, an article entitled "Early Chinese Ideas of God." In it he contends that the Shang people did have a worship of a supreme God (Ti and sometimes Shang Ti). He maintains that the term for supreme ruler occurs frequently and that the Chous brought in the term Heaven (T'ien). This does not, however, alter our conclusion that the religion was a combination of the two which took the form of a monotheism while accepting the worship of ancestors.—M.H.B.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷⁹ *Odes*, II, vi, V.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, II, i, VI.

⁸¹ p. 15.

⁸² *Odes*, III, iii, IV.

Still, for the great majority, the world was a moral order and it was the business of the sovereign to get into harmony with it. Creel sums it up thus:

"Harmony, as the *summum bonum*, must be a highway to follow, not a temple in which to stop. The highest ideal, then, is the *tao*, "the way," "the road," or "the path. . . . For the monarch, the prime duty was to follow the *tao*, the cosmically sanctioned mode of action." ⁸³

When the monarch made the proper adjustment to the divine order, it followed naturally that the people made it also.

"When you keep yours (i.e. family) at a distance
The people all do the same with theirs.
What you teach,
The people all imitate." ⁸⁴

The urge to be virtuous was very strong. For the virtuous, the reward extended to their descendants who would later be their sole support when they joined the spirit world.

"His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with,
He received the blessing of God,
And it was extended to his descendants." ⁸⁵

They believed that they could get definite opinions on various problems, from the Deity, by the use of divination. The tortoise⁸⁶, reeds,⁸⁷ and grain⁸⁸ were all used for this purpose but just how we do not know. But there was the other more vital way of knowing what Heaven thought of the government and this was, as we have shown,⁸⁹ through the condition of the people. A peaceful condition of affairs has always represented to the Chinese that they had the divine favour.

"There is peace throughout our myriad regions:
There has been a succession of plentiful years:—
Heaven does not weary in its favour." ⁹⁰

So peace and the contentment of the people was bound up in the Chinese mind with having the divine favour and has always been a factor with which every military leader has had to reckon.

But in spite of this fact we do not find that they looked upon all war as a breaking of the divine moral order. Heaven seemed to endorse a just war such as the one that overthrew the last wicked king of Shang or that of Chou. This belief tended to make the relations with outside nations more stable than with the internal ones for it justified rebellion, though the condition of the people had to be serious before it could be justified. There is, however, no sign of any real pacifism.

So though their religion did not outlaw war it was a decided check on aggressiveness. The moral order of the universe was linked to the peace and contentment of the people and war, especially aggressive war and certainly all unjust war, was a disturbance of that order

⁸³ Creel, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁸⁴ *Odes*, II, vii, IX.

⁸⁵ *Odes*, III, i, VII.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, I, v, IV: II, i, IX.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, v, IV.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II, v, II.

⁸⁹ p. 23.

⁹⁰ *Odes*, IV, i, (iii), IX.

and in the end would bring disaster. But over and above this the rites and ceremonies of ancestor worship required the presence of the male members of the family in the home, at the times of worship and to insure descendants.

6. WAR IN PRE-CONFUCIAN TIMES

It has already been noted⁹¹ that the odes have a considerable background of war. There are six of them that dwell entirely on this theme. Undoubtedly, the Chinese of this period had a good military organization. They had bows and arrows,⁹² lances,⁹³ battle-axes,⁹⁴ swords and war-chariots.⁹⁵ They carried shields and bucklers.⁹⁶ They had hooked ladders for scaling walls as well as engines for assaulting them.⁹⁷ One ode tells that they put six armies in order⁹⁸ and another that they had a thousand chariots and thirty thousand infantry.

These weapons of war were also used for hunting. In the mountains of Shansi, not so far distant from the ancient capital, there are still deer, wild-boar, and leopards to be hunted. The ode, describing the life of Pin in the early days, says that the king gave orders to "proceed to keep up the exercises of war".⁹⁹ Legge's comment on this is that hunting was considered a preparation for war.

Obviously they had need to be well armed for the country was surrounded on three sides by warlike tribes. The Heen-yun and the Jung were to the North and North-West.¹⁰⁰ The Man and the King were to the South.¹⁰¹ And the Seu to the West.¹⁰² They seem to have been of a more war-like nature and made invasions into China.¹⁰³ Legge tells us in the introduction to an ode which celebrated the victory over the Heen-yun,¹⁰⁴ that they had taken advantage of the disorder in the time of King Le, to invade the country and actually penetrated far into the royal domain. It was after this that King Sueun, who succeeded King Le, despatched Yin-kei-foo, to drive them out. He succeeded and his victory was commemorated in this ode and Yin-kei-foo became a hero:

"For peace or for war fit is Kei-foo,
A pattern to all the states."¹⁰⁵

But in spite of the fact that this ode commemorated a victory and praised a hero of the victory, it really does not have a truly militaristic spirit. They had fought to drive the invader out and victory brought relief and therefore joy. The really great event in the ode is the feast at the conclusion of the hostilities and their return home. The tedious marches are over but even while enjoying the carp and the turtle which Chinese know how to cook so temptingly, they were still dwelling on the hardships endured. It also states that the leader in

⁹¹ p. 8.

⁹² I, ii, XIV.

⁹³ I, xi, VIII.

⁹⁴ IV, iii, IV.

⁹⁵ II, iii, III.

⁹⁶ III, i, VII.

⁹⁷ III, i, VII.

⁹⁸ III, iii, IX.

⁹⁹ *Odes*, I, xv, I.

¹⁰⁰ *Odes*, II, i, VIII.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, IV.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, IV, ii, IV.

¹⁰³ Shoo, Proleg., p. 192.

¹⁰⁴ *Odes*, II, iii, III.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, II, iii, III.

discharging his military duties had been "severely strict and careful." This meant that he took pains to have as little fighting as possible and not to arouse unnecessary opposition as can be seen from some of the other odes. The ode which celebrates the victory over the tribes to the South in the next year tells how King Sueun took pains to use peaceful means to produce permanent order and settlement of the country. He gave orders to:

"Open up the whole country:
Make the statutory divisions of my lands there
Not to distress the people, nor with urgency
But making them conform to the Royal state." 106

Another ode celebrates the same victory and it pictures King Sueun with his strong show of force, taking pains to win the favour of the people by his plans for their economic welfare and then:

"The tribes came awed by his majesty." 107

There is still another ode which celebrated a victory over the more northern tribes of the Hwae and is in some respects the most warlike ode of them all. But even in this one the picture is not that of an ardent militarist bent on acquiring fame and territory, but of one who is anxious to pacify the country with the least disturbance of the normal life.

"Put my six armies in order
And get ready all my apparatus of war.
Be reverent, be cautious
That we may give comfort to the states of the South." 108

The picture seems clear. Force was thought to be necessary but they were expected to act in such a way that a mere display of it would be sufficient to accomplish their purpose. That they had such a display of force at hand is easily understood when they had always to be on guard against these war-like tribes.

Though the odes tell of the expeditions to drive out the invaders and that they pressed on to the country of the invader, they do not appear as ruthless revenge. They dealt fairly with them and then trusted them.

"The king's plans were directed in truth and sincerity,
And the region of Seu came (at once to terms);
Its (chiefs) were all collected together:—
Through the merit of the Son of Heaven.
The country was all reduced to order;
Its (chiefs) appeared before the king
They would not again change their minds
And the king said, 'Let us return.' " 109

The odes show that military force was used to rid the country of a dissolute ruler. It was stated in the section on government, that the people maintained the right to rebel when, through the sovereign's lack of virtue, suffering came upon them.¹¹⁰ They believed that by his lack of virtue the sovereign lost the appointment of Heaven and

106 *Odes*, III, iii, VIII.

107 *Ibid.*, II, iii, IV.

108 *Odes*, III, iii, IX, st. 1.

109 *Ibid.*, III, iii, IX, st. 6.

110 *Ibid.*, IV, ii, IV.

that Heaven used them to carry out its will. Because of this Tang is praised for ending the Hea (Hsia) dynasty when it had become corrupt and was believed to have been rewarded with the favour of Heaven.¹¹¹ Wan also was praised for using force to rid the world of the last corrupt ruler of Shang and to establish the Chou dynasty.¹¹² This right the Chinese have strongly maintained up to present times; they have been amazingly long-suffering under some worthless rulers. Indeed, many have wondered in recent years, whether any other race could have endured so much oppression and misrule without having shed much more blood.

Military posts were maintained on the frontier.¹¹³ They were supplied from the peasantry and were relieved from year to year. But these were outposts of defence and not strategic positions for advance. The more warlike people had to be watched and the post was intended for the maintenance of peace. The soldiers on duty did not enjoy this duty and thought constantly of home and longed for the day of their return. Their plaint was:

"When shall we return?
Our hearts are sorrowful
Our hearts are sad and sorrowful." ¹¹⁴

War during this period was frequently a matter of arrangement and adjustment. Latourette writes of it thus:

"In days when the feudalism of the Chou was at its height custom regulated combats between feudal states. That kind of battle as we have suggested, was in a large degree a matter of ritual—of generous sparing of life, of loyalty to one's chief, and of gaining or losing prestige by following or disobeying the rules. It was a kind of bloodless military chess. One is reminded in a general way of the chivalry which was supposed to prevail in warfare between Christian princes in Medieval Europe." ¹¹⁵

This view seems a little more optimistic than that expressed by Legge in the Prolegomena to the Ch'un Ts'ew, which period partly overlapped that covered by the odes.

"Mencius says that the classic does not contain a single instance of a righteous war, a war, according to him, being righteous only when the supreme authority marshalled its forces to punish some disobedient vassal, whereas during the period chronicled by Confucius, we have nothing but the strifes and collisions of the various feudal states amongst themselves. This is not absolutely correct but is an approximation to the truth." ¹¹⁶

It must be remembered, however, that critics now agree that the Ch'un Ts'ew was a forgery of a later time and was not written by Confucius as all believed up to Legge's time. Also, there is nothing in Legge's account to show that the states really fought bloody wars. It has certainly not been true of much of the civil war since the establishment of the republic, even though Chinese armies have been drilled by foreign militarists.

The Chinese, in this period, dealt quite generously with the conquered. They took a few captives but let the majority go free though on occasion they cut off the captive's ear in order that he might be

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV, iii, IV.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, IV, iii, IV.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, II, i, VIII.

¹¹⁴ *Odes*, II, i, VII.

¹¹⁵ Latourette, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61.

¹¹⁶ Ch'un Ts'ew, Proleg., p. 112.

recognized.¹¹⁷ The *Shoo* relates how some defeated officers were placed in positions of trust.¹¹⁸ The fact that they were able to do this shows, in itself, that their most effective methods for dealing with these people were not militaristic.

The odes do not relate any story of an unprovoked invasion of another country. At a later period they invaded Burmah and Cochin-China as well as some other neighbouring countries but this was under a Mongol dynasty.¹¹⁹ Moreover, these expeditions never seem to have been popular with people and brought severe criticism on the ruler who commanded them.¹²⁰

In brief it would seem that the Chinese engaged in war for two purposes. The first was to drive out an invader and to preserve their boundaries inviolate. The second was to rid the country of dissolute rulers. Military posts were maintained on the frontier for preservation of the peace. All this would plainly come under the heading of defensive and not aggressive war though that latter term is very difficult to define. But it does seem clear from the way the Chinese dealt with the warring tribes at this time, that their idea of the right use of arms was to use them as King Wan did. He displayed his military prowess only to secure the tranquillity of the people.¹²¹

7. THE CHINESE CASE AGAINST WAR

There are twenty three of the odes that contain definite murmurings against war. They are based on a wide variety of reasons. These reasons may be roughly divided into three categories viz., family, economic, and religious. The family objections are most numerous and seem to form a natural starting point for the discussion.

War tears husband and wife apart as was seen in the section on the Family.¹²² This caused very real grief to the husbands:

"For life or for death, however separated
To our wives we pledged our word.
We held their hands;
We were to grow old together with them.
Alas for our separation!
We have no prospect of life.
Alas for our stipulation!
We cannot make it good." 123

The wife was even more grieved. She could not "but keep thinking of him."¹²⁴ She grieved bitterly over his absence and the fact that she could have no knowledge of him:

"My woman's heart is wounded
Oh, that my soldier might return." 125

How deeply rooted this was in the thought of the people is shown by the fact that there are nine odes which have for their main theme this expression of grief and longing on the part of the wife, while

¹¹⁷ *Odes*, III, i, VIII.

¹¹⁸ *Shoo*, V, 14, 22-24.

¹¹⁹ Hawks-Pott, p. 78.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹²¹ *Odes*, III, i, X.

¹²² p. 10.

¹²³ *Odes*, I, iii, VI.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, vi, II.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, i, IX.

there are references to it in a number of others. One of these gives a vivid picture of the re-union after an absence. The husband is pictured as pouring forth his heart in music on the organ which he holds with his left hand while he beckons the wife to him with the other:

"In his left hand he holds his reed organ
And with his right hand he calls me to the room.
Oh the joy!" 126

War could never be anything but an abnormal thing in such a family.

But wives are not the only consideration in China. Indeed they must generally be put in the second place. Filial obligations to the parents and aged members of the family come first and war prevents the fulfillment of these. In an ode addressed to the Minister of War, an officer of the royal guard complained of the service imposed on him:

"You have indeed acted without discrimination,
Why have you rolled us into this sorrow?
So that our mothers have to do all the cooking?" 127

The writer of another ode bewails the fact that disorder brings suffering to parents:

"No one is willing to think of the prevailing disorder
But who has not parents to suffer from it?" 128

These lines imply that the suffering of parents would be unnecessary under a good government. War would not be necessary either. For war prevented the carrying out of one of the most sacred duties of a filial son, which is rendering the last services to parents. One soldier is thus grief stricken:

"Grief has robbed my eyes of sight,
Almost plunging me in night.
Others' hands laid in the grave,
Those whose pain my being gave." 129

War took from the soldiers the strength and support of the family.

"Thickly spread about the dolichos creepers.
On the borders of the Ho.
Forever separated from my brothers,
I call a stranger, father;
But he will not look at me.

Thickly spread about the dolichos creepers
On the banks of the Ho.
Forever separated from my brothers,
I call a stranger mother;
But she will not recognize me.

Thickly spread about the dolichos creepers
On the borders of the Ho.
Forever separated from my brothers,
I call a stranger elder-brother;
But he will not listen to me." 130

126 *Odes*, I, vi, III.

127 *Ibid.*, II, iv, I.

128 *Odes*, II, iii, IX.

129 *Odes*, II, v, VII. This quotation is from Legge's metrical version.

130 *Odes*, I, vi, VII.

In this ode, an exile sees the thick, continuous growth of the creeper in the soil proper to it, in contrast to his own position of isolation far from the united family, or clan as it really is, for brothers here include cousins and the creeper symbolized the larger family unit. The unity of a Chinese family is such that the individual felt himself like a branch separated from strength and protection of the parent stock and its manifold branches.

War drives families from their homes. In the odes of Wei¹³¹ we have several references to the families who have had to flee from their homes on account of war. This was a tragic thing for, as was shown,¹³² the Chinese family had a very special sense of relationship to their native soil and did not well bear removal from that spot.

War was a threat to the economic foundations of the family for it took away the men who should help to provide this support. The men of Tsin, called to warfare by the king's orders, long for their return to normal duties:

"And so we cannot plant our sacrificial millet and millet,
What will our parents have to rely on?
When shall we get back to our ordinary lot." ¹³³

There is evidence, in such odes, that these agricultural pursuits were more than a mere way to support the family, but were, in themselves, the main business of living, and it was this that war disturbed so seriously.

Besides desolating homes, these wars were a great waste. Horses were lost and died on the expeditions.¹³⁴ Equipment was costly and much of it was destroyed. This must have been displeasing to the Chinese whose life has always been such that they have had to be economical. It was this idea that Meh Tse, many years later, stressed in his essay against war.¹³⁵ It was one of his main arguments for he insisted that whatever the gain it never made up for the loss.

Of the religious reasons opposed to war, ancestor worship made the strongest one. It was gravely disturbed by the exigencies of war. It required worship in the ancestral halls once each season and twice a year at the graves.¹³⁶ It also required the presence of the male members of the family on all occasions of moment to the family for they must all be announced to the ancestors.¹³⁷

The absence of male members from the home for long periods of time made it difficult to grow the millet for sacrifices.¹³⁸ It kept them from sharing in the announcement to the ancestors of the great family events of birth, marriage and death and of fulfilling what duty demanded of them.¹³⁹ As the proper performances of these many obligations had a vital bearing on the welfare of the family, it made long absences a serious affair.

¹³¹ *Odes.*, I, iii.

¹³² p. 13.

¹³³ *Odes.*, I, x, VIII.

¹³⁴ *Odes.*, I, iii, VI.

¹³⁵ L. Tomkinson, *The Social Teaching of Meh Tse*, p. 61.

¹³⁶ J. T. Addison, *Chinese Ancestor Worship*, p. 20.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹³⁸ *Odes.*, I, x, VIII.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Their belief in a righteous God who had established a moral order in the universe, led them to believe that war was not in harmony with it and was therefore a sign that the King had lost the favour of Heaven:

"War has done its work, but he withdraws not from evil." ¹⁴⁰

Then, too, they believed that God revealed his will through the condition of the people.¹⁴¹ It was his will that they should be content and war caused them suffering so it was against the will of God.

"But how is it that you are so unjust?
Heaven is continually redoubling its afflictions;
Death and disorder increase and multiply
No words of satisfaction come from the people." ¹⁴²

From this aspect, it was the duty of everyone to prevent war.

Then besides all these reasons, there were the physical hardships which the soldiers were called upon to endure. Strangely enough one finds almost no reference to the loss of life in war, but there are repeated references to the hardships.

"Long and tedious will be our marching,
We shall hunger, we shall thirst;
Our hearts are wounded with grief." ¹⁴³

They could not enjoy a feast on their return without recalling over again how the marches had been "distant and long"¹⁴⁴ and in one ode they pour forth an angry resentment while engaged in the expedition. After having bitterly complained about the separation from their families they wax sarcastic in their criticism:

"We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers,
To be kept in these desolate wilds.
Alas for us on these expeditions!
Morning and night we have no leisure." ¹⁴⁵

They complain of hills to climb and frowning rocks,¹⁴⁶ of rain and snow¹⁴⁷ that made the marchings more difficult. It is a gloomy picture with no tang of adventure to relieve it.

This makes a very strong case against war. Legge recognized it as such, and agreed that the odes did not excite to war, but were intended to dispose to habits of peace.¹⁴⁸ They believed it was wasteful and terribly hard for the soldiers. The family resented it because it tore the members apart and prevented the fulfillment of the natural obligations. Indeed, it weakened the whole family structure by splitting it up and threatening its economic foundations. It prevented the performance of the religious rites due to the ancestors. This was a cardinal sin for the ancestors were supposed to visit evil upon those who failed to perform the proper ceremonies. Then, too, the supreme ruler showed his displeasure against rulers who waged unjust wars, by permitting the people to suffer, and even in a just war, there was much hardship and suffering. One cannot but feel that the people had a strong sentiment against war.

¹⁴⁰ *Odes*, II, iv, X.

¹⁴¹ p. 21.

¹⁴² *Odes*, II, iv, VII.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, II, i, VII.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, iii, III.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, viii, X.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, viii, VIII.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, viii, VIII.

¹⁴⁸ p. 2.

8. THE POWER OF NON-AGGRESSION

In the odes, there constantly recurs a belief in the power of a good ruler to produce just government and to bring order throughout the country, by his strength of character. The "wisdom and virtue" of T'ang, the 'Successful', was such that:

"He received the rank tokens (of the states), small and large,
Which depended on him like the pendants of a banner;—
So did he receive the blessing of Heaven.
He was neither violent nor remiss,
Neither hard nor soft.
Gently he spread his instructions abroad,
And all dignities were concentrated in him." 149

Not only was good character thus powerful, but it was also the *most* powerful force for the preservation of peace:

"What is most powerful is the being the man!—
In all quarters (of the state) men are influenced by it.
To an upright virtuous conduct
All in the four corners of the state are under obedient homage." 150

There seems to be also a feeling that there was something in such a character that produced a sense of respect and almost awe in those who saw it, and yet the character was really mild in nature.

"The virtue of the chief of Shin,
Is mild and regulated and upright;
He will keep all those countries in order
And be feared throughout the kingdom." 151

A virtuous character could end an invasion and pacify the war-like tribes. When virtuous men ruled the wild tribes fled away:

"God having brought about the removal thither of the intelligent ruler,
The Kwan hordes fled away." 152

There were other more advanced tribes who, under the influence of good character, voluntarily offered their submission:

"Very intelligent is the Marquis of Loo
Making his virtue illustrious,
He has made this college with its semi-circle of water,
And the tribes of the Hwae will submit in consequence." 153

Some may object that this is not a right interpretation of this passage for they did fight the Hwae and their submission was due to force. But reading the whole ode convinces one that there was a belief that good government was more potent than military force. Four lines later in the ode give real expression to this idea.

"They have subdued the tribes of the Hwae
And brought them to an unrebelling submission.
Only lay your plans securely
And all the tribes of the Hwae will be got."

149 *Odes*, IV, iii, IV.

150 *Ibid.*, III, iii, II.

151 *Odes*, III, iii, V.

152 *Ibid.*, III, i, VII.

153 *Ibid.*, IV, ii, III.

This idea is also found in the early part of the Book of History. It states definitely that "The wild tribes on every side have willingly acknowledged subjection to him."¹⁵⁴ This makes it seem that this belief may have been based on definite historical incidents. These tribes may well have been influenced by the superior culture of the Chinese and have desired to share in the protection and benefits that it brought, though we must always keep in mind the fact that these tribes were probably not so wild as one might suppose. To the Chinese, anyone who had not attained to their high culture was considered wild or barbarous.

The Chinese seem always to have used diplomacy as a means of settling disputes. Indeed they seem to have put their faith in it and to have tried to settle disputes in this way. It seemed to be only after the failure of diplomacy that they took to war as a last resort. Latourette describes it thus:

"This problem they handled in a variety of ways—partly by attempting to play off one 'barbarian' tribe against another (a policy which they later tried with Occidental peoples, and with some success), partly by garrisons reinforced by extensive fortifications, often by treaties with potential invaders, and occasionally by carrying the war into the enemies' territories and holding them in subjection. This last policy was particularly effective under the Manchus."¹⁵⁵

It is clear from this description that Latourette believes that diplomacy was their first method, and that war took second place, though he does not include definitely the idea that the influence of a virtuous character was a potent factor in bringing peace and maintaining it. No doubt he felt that it lay behind their ability thus to bring peace by treaty. It is also to be noted that while he says that peace was sometimes won and preserved by force, he remarks that this was most effective under the Manchus who were not a Chinese dynasty and whose armies were in the main recruited from outside of China. Certainly the odes give the impression, that diplomacy was a first weapon and this is all the more surprising when we know they were well equipped for war.

Even the whole military organization was thought of more as an instrument for defence than of aggression. King Wan is said to have displayed military prowess only to secure the tranquillity of the people. The army of Shang was reported to have fled at the first sight of his great army.¹⁵⁶ This, no doubt, is a glorified account but there can be no doubt but that he set at once to work on his plans for reconstruction which were the power that won the people to him. The introduction to this ode says:

"The praise of King Wan and King Woo:—how the former displayed his military prowess only to secure the tranquillity of the people; how this appeared in the building of Fung his capital city; and how the latter entered his capital of Haou, into the sovereignty of the kingdom with the sincere good will of all the people."¹⁵⁷

This shows their belief that good treatment, and not force, must be the power to preserve peace. Hence, they gave generous treatment to the enemy. The *Shoo* tells how, after the overthrow of Yin,

¹⁵⁴ *Shoo*, p. 346.

¹⁵⁵ Latourette, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 26.

¹⁵⁶ *Odes*, III, i, X.

¹⁵⁷ *Odes*, III, i, X.

conquered officers were placed in offices and failed to live up to their duties. For this they were not executed, as one might have thought, but were removed to Lo. They complained of their removal and reminded King Wan that when their first Shang dynasty had overthrown the Hea, defeated officers had been placed in high positions. In his reply King Wan reminded them that he had not wanted to treat them so, but they had been so lawless, that he had had to remove them for their own benefit. His kindly treatment of them is stressed and the chapter closes with King Wan's admonition to them:

"Only be attentive to your duties and you may rank among our great officers." 158

It seems clear that the Chinese had a definite belief in the power of peaceful methods to restore order and to settle difficult problems. They had found it so successful in their dealings with other races that they put it in the first place in their minds and developed the idea that military power was largely for show, and, if the situation was such that its use was unavoidable, it was expected to be used with restraint and followed up with definite constructive plans.

9. HOW CHINESE RULE WAS EXTENDED

The section on war has stated that the Chinese of this period fought to maintain the integrity of their territory or to rid the country of a dissolute ruler. How then, did they manage to extend their rule over so large a part of Asia?

It would seem that in driving the invaders out and in pacifying warlike tribes that threatened their existence, they laid their plans so well and showed so much concern for the welfare of the people that many voluntarily submitted and became integral parts of the country. The following selection from one of the odes shows how it was done:

"The king said to the head of the Yin clan,
 'Give a charge to Hew-foo earl of Ching,
 To undertake the arrangements of the ranks,
 And to warn all my troops
 Along the banks of the Hwae.
 We go to see the land of Seu,
 Not delaying (our march), nor occupying (the territory),
 That the three-fold labours (of husbandry)
 May proceed in order.

The king's plans were directed in truth and sincerity,
 And the regions of Seu came (at once to terms)
 Its (chiefs) appeared before the king,
 They would not again change their minds,
 And the king said 'Let us return.' " 159

The plans of the king were laid in such a way that the labour of spring, summer and autumn should go on uninterruptedly in spite of the presence of the armies. It was by such acts of thoughtfulness that the confidence and allegiance of many of these tribes were gained.

158 *Shoo*, p. 462.

159 *Odes*, III, iii, IX.

Their rule was apparently extended by a diffusion of culture:

"(The chiefs of) Joo and Jung were brought to an agreement,
By King Wan's stimulating their natural virtue.
Then, I may say, some came to him previously not knowing him;
And some drawn the last by the first;
And some drawn by his rapid successes:
And some by his defence (of the weak) from insult." 160

The superiority of the Chinese culture seems to have been a real factor in winning the allegiance of some of the tribes and as this ode shows, the king often deliberately tried to impress them, and win them, by its use. Ssü-Ma Ch'ien tells the story of how Joy and Juy were influenced by the superior culture.

"Their chiefs had a quarrel about certain fields, or a strip of territory to which each of them laid a claim. Unable to come to an agreement, they went to lay the matter before the lord of Chow; and as soon as they entered the territory, they saw the ploughers readily yielding the furrow and travellers yielding the path to one another, while men and women avoided one another on the road and none of the old people had burdens to carry. When they got to the court they beheld the officers of each inferior grade readily giving place to those above them. All this made them ashamed of their own quarrel. They acknowledged the error and folly of it and agreed to let the disputed territory be an open territory and withdrew, without presuming to appear before the prince of Chow. When this affair was noised abroad, it is said that more than forty states tendered their submission to Chow." 161

In such accounts, allowance must, of course, be made for exaggeration in the praise of the rulers whose virtue produced these admirable conditions. But when that has been done, there is still considerable truth left. History records that a number of tribes offered their allegiance freely.¹⁶² It is common knowledge that in later years the Manchus were so much influenced by this superior culture that their life was changed and became so Chinese that when a Chinese went outside the wall he did not find himself in an alien environment.¹⁶³

But did the Chinese actually use force aggressively for the purpose of extending their rule? Latourette tells us that Chao Wang and Mu Wang did so but, as he also tells us that most of the accounts come from an historical novel of the first century A.D.—over one thousand years after Chao Wang is reported to have come to the throne,—it would seem hardly trustworthy evidence. Latourette admits this and concludes with this sentence:

"It seems fairly reasonable, however, to assume that these early monarchs expanded their domains, even gaining a foothold in the Yangtze Valley." 164

This sentence does not make clear whether he accepted the account of military conquest or whether he merely accepted the fact of the expansion of the empire at this time. It would seem that this does not give us any real evidence of expansion by military aggressiveness. Latourette also mentions the case of Hsuan Wang, who is said to have reigned between 827 and 781 B.C. Hsuan Wang, he says, fought "successfully against the barbarians in the modern

160 *Odes*, III, iii, IX.

161 *Odes*, Legge's notes on III, i, III.

162 Hawks-Pott, p. 21.

163 Owen Lattimore, *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict*, p. 60.

164 Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Shansi and Northern Shensi, carrying the war into the highlands from which these enemies menaced the plains. He also invaded the valley of the Han." This would seem as though it were a real case of extending the rule by aggressive militarism except for the use of his phrase "from which these enemies menaced the plain."¹⁶⁵ This would only reinforce our theory that in driving out the invaders they acquired more territory and there is no evidence to show that it was done ruthlessly but may have been done by taking so much care for the welfare of the people that they willingly submitted as happened in the other instances. In any event, Latourette shows us that following Hsuan Wang there was only weakness, and not strength, exhibited by the rulers of Chou, and they sought stability through alliances and leagues.¹⁶⁶ All of this seems to show that the Chinese genius was for attaining their ends through peaceful rather than military means.

The Chinese seem to have done little colonizing. There are two occasions of it mentioned in the Book of Poetry. In the first case, it is one of the deeds for which the ruler is thought to bring about the displeasure of Heaven as shown by eclipses and storms. They blamed him for it.

"This Hwang-foo,
Will not acknowledge that he is acting out of season.
Why does he call us to action
Without coming to consult us?"¹⁶⁷

The other case was that of Duke Lew:

"Of generous devotion to the people was Duke Lew,
He surveyed the plains (where he was settled);
(The people) were numerous and crowded;
In sympathy with them he made proclamation (of his
contemplated measure)
And there were no perpetual sighings about it."¹⁶⁸

The contrasts between these two occasions are easily noted. In the first place they were forced from their homes without being consulted. In the second the district was so crowded that economically something had to be done and the ruler made a plan and sympathetically put it before the people before undertaking it. Even then the natural reluctance of the people to separate themselves from their native soil was so strong that they did not become reconciled to their lot until the Duke took such pains to see that they should be able to reap an abundant harvest, that finally there were no "perpetual sighings." That this cannot have been a common method of expansion, may be seen from the fact that there seems to be no real tradition. The Chinese will stay in their native spot until there is absolutely nothing left, then will take long treks begging as they go in the hope of finding work where crops are more abundant. But the great majority will take the long trek home the moment there is word that the land back home may once more be cultivated. Also, though Shantung province has been so over-populated, all the emigration to Manchuria was seasonal—going for the short harvest

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁶ Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 47-8.

¹⁶⁷ *Odes*, II, iv, IX.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, III, ii, VI.

season and then returning—until the period of maximum disorder in Shantung made it unsafe for them to return with their money.¹⁶⁹ It has already been noted that the Chinese have a close link with the land,¹⁷⁰ and it would seem that very little of their expansion can be accounted for by civilian colonization.

Did the Chinese extend their rule by means of military colonization? This is an important question. The odes refer to military posts on the frontier but it would seem that they were not colonies for the soldiers lament their separation from their families:

"We can send no one to enquire about our families." ¹⁷¹

We know that such military colonization was undertaken outside the great wall against the Mongols and Manchus. Lattimore says that "expansion beyond the Wall was always defensive."¹⁷² No doubt they hoped, too, that their superior culture would bring submission, and it seems more than likely that in this early period these posts may have been a factor in diffusing their culture and thus obtaining the submission of the tribes.

It seems, then, that while force was a factor in extending the rule of the Chinese, it was not the thing on which they chiefly relied. They were adept in the use of diplomacy and other peaceful means of securing the adherence of the neighbouring tribes who gradually acquired the superior culture of the Chinese. Their military outposts were probably one means of diffusing this culture but they do not seem to have gone in for colonization except under dire economic stress. Evidence that they set about aggressively to extend their rule, seems to be lacking.

10. CONCLUSION

What then may be said about the Chinese claim of non-aggression? One concludes with a feeling that the ideals of the nation are non-aggressive. As Latourette says, the chief problem with which most of the schools of thought in China were concerned was "the creation of an ideal society."¹⁷³ That ideal society, in the minds of the people, was in the form of a country village, where life was well regulated with set tasks for each day and month, and the obligations of family and religion were punctiliously observed. The peace and tranquility necessary for the attainment of this ideal could only be assured when the sovereign was in accord with the will of Heaven. If he failed to maintain the favour of Heaven their lives would be disturbed and they would suffer and they were, therefore, not necessarily obligated to obey him. Thus, as Creel points out, they achieved "a peaceful regularity and social solidarity beyond anything which we of the present day can imagine."¹⁷⁴

They did make war on their enemies. That is not surprising in face of the fact that they were surrounded on three sides by war-like tribes that continually made raids into their country and menaced their very life. But their superior culture gradually infused itself

¹⁶⁹ Owen Lattimore, *op. cit.*, p. 197, 201.

¹⁷⁰ p. 14.

¹⁷¹ *Odes*, II, i, VII.

¹⁷² Lattimore, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹⁷³ Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹⁷⁴ Creel, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

into the life of their neighbours and so affected them that in the process of time, many of them were pleased to gain the greater security, which belonging to a more highly-developed country could give. So the Chinese came to depend more on diplomacy and constructive plans for the welfare of the people, than on actual fighting, as a method for securing tranquillity.

As the Chinese only met with opposition from peoples on a lower level of culture, they found that, even when defeated in war, their culture won in the end. This strengthened their belief that good was always rewarded and evil punished, and it helped to take away that fear which might have led to a desire to push out into the neighbouring countries aggressively. As it was, an emperor who tried to do it lost favour and eventually failed.

So they developed a sense of caution and restraint, in every realm of life. The odes show this as the ideal for every man, in every situation:

"Watch over your behaviour,
And allow nothing wrong in your demeanour,
Counting no excess, doing nothing injurious;" 175

and again:

"Be cautious in what you say;
Be reverentially careful in your outward demeanour." 176

No doubt, they early found that such restraint was profitable to them in their dealings with their neighbours.

Then, as has been shown, the whole political thinking of the Chinese made it extremely difficult for any leader to arouse the enthusiasm that is necessary for successfully carrying out aggressive plans. Their belief that the welfare of the people should be the chief concern of the sovereign made them feel little concern about his schemes. Their attitude is well summed up in one of the oldest odes that has come down to us:

"We rise at sunrise,
We rest at sunset,
Dig wells and drink,
Till our fields and eat.
What is the strength of the emperor to us?" 177

Added to this was the tradition of local independence on the part of the individual states which took from the energy that might have gone into loyalty to the larger unit. These all tended to frustrate expansive projects.

In concluding one cannot but take a look at the future. We have seen that the forces which made for non-aggression were more dominant than those making for aggression and have been maintained thus over so long a period of time that the Chinese may with some reason lay claim to be a non-aggressive people. But in the past they were so isolated from the nations of an equally high level of culture that they never felt any real competition that might have stimulated a really aggressive spirit. But now, at length, they have come up

175 *Odes*, III, iii, I.

176 *Ibid.*, III, iii, II.

177 Legge's Proleg. to the *She*, p. 13.

against a virile culture whose technological development has been so rapid that it has been driven to find outlets for its products in the farthest corners of the earth. China has felt the full impact of this meeting. She has been badly shaken and so weakened that she has been unable to maintain her empire intact under the force of the onslaught. She has been slow to make adjustments to the new situation but is now seriously girding herself for the task. What will be the result? Will her power to absorb other cultures win in the end and thus maintain her non-aggressive traditions or will—as some Chinese leaders hope—her action-patterns be so changed that she may emerge a strongly aggressive nation? Only time can tell, but at least it seems improbable that such a great nation which has endured as one political unit over so long a period of time, should now be broken up entirely and so pass out of history.

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GEOPHYSICAL PROSPECTING FOR GOLD, METALLIC ORES AND PETROLEUM AND ITS POSSIBLE APPLICATION IN CHINA¹

By ERIK T. NYSTRÖM

The ancient art of prospecting for treasures hidden underground has always caught the imagination of mankind and many tales of romance, adventure, greed and crime have been woven round it. There is and always will be much uncertainty attached to prospecting for minerals, and Mother Earth does not willingly give up her secrets, but science has progressed in this direction as elsewhere and we possess now wonderful new geophysical methods, whereby great areas may be covered and examined with cost and labour tens of time less than before and the deposits—*mirabile dictu*—signify their presence to the observer on the surface by producing electric currents which may be noted by galvanometer or by a buzzing sound in an ordinary telephone earpiece.

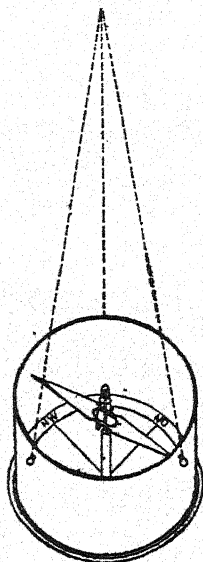
In latter years the success of these geophysical methods has, amongst other results all over the world, led to the opening up of a new ore-district in North Sweden with more than 100 newly discovered deposits and comprising Boliden, now the premier gold-field of Europe, which soon will turn out one ton of the precious metal per month. Boliden was hidden under 60 ft. of soil and not one piece of mineral was in sight. In Newfoundland, at the Buchan Mine, where it was thought that the ore reserves amounted to the comparatively modest figure of 100,000 tons, quite a number of new ore-bodies were found by electrical methods containing impressive tenure of useful metals, namely 7½% lead, 18% zinc and 1½% copper. The ore-reserves were increased by the new discoveries to the impressive aggregate of 6 million tons, finance was attracted, a new railway built to the mining concession and work found for thousands of people.

¹ A lecture given by Dr. Nyström before the Society in Wu Lien Teh Hall on October 17, 1935.

In 1930 the World Conference of Geophysicists which met at Stockholm was invited by the Swedish Government to visit the newly discovered gold-field at Boliden and the members, of which the author was one, were asked to attend a demonstration *in situ* of the electrical prospecting methods and we could all listen in on the telephone and "hear" the great ore-body hidden below its thick overburden of soil. Amongst other prominent people both the Director of the British Geological Survey and of the Swedish Geological Survey were present at this demonstration.

The practical application of geophysics for ore-prospecting dates from the time of the world war although the science as such is much older. It was the keen search for metals needed for the war that brought the new methods to the use of mining men. Of course we knew long before that parts of the earth's crust might, through certain special physical properties such as greater or smaller specific gravity or magnetism or conductivity, exercise a distant effect on certain sensitive instruments. For instance the pendulum was known to swing at greater speed on islands in the Pacific than in the mountainous parts of Europe, the difference in sp. gravity being as 3.1 compared with 2.7 or thereabout. The magnetic properties of the earth were already at that time examined in different countries and we had indeed a small, but practically useful instrument in the old "Miner's Compass" invented in Sweden more than 250 years ago,

Fig. I. Miner's Compass.



in which the compass needle is enabled to swing not only horizontally but also vertically and gives indication of magnetic bodies buried below the surface. With this instrument important deposits of magnetite were discovered quite a long time before the war. The needle, after compensation for the local "pull" of normal terrestrial magnetism, will, by its abnormal inclination, indicate the presence of such ore-bodies.

THE MAGNETIC BALANCE.

But, as stated above, it has been during the last two decades that tremendous strides have been made in the use of improved geophysical instruments for ascertaining the presence of ore- and oil-deposits. The "Miner's Compass" is still in use but has been largely superseded by highly complicated—and, let us admit, very expensive and delicate—instruments called the Magnetic Theodolite and the Magnetic Balance.

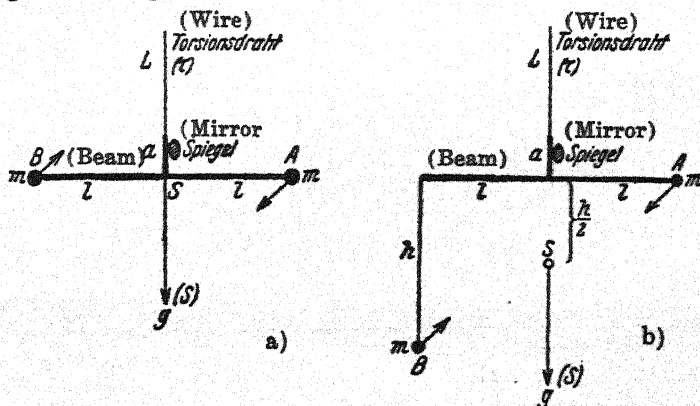
These large and expensive instruments work on the same principle as the simple "Miner's Compass" mentioned above but are of course infinitely more complicated and sensitive. They have their advantages and drawbacks. They are very useful for structural work in geology since they can detect even the different magnetic properties of ordinary rocks such as sediments, granite and basic intrusives. Magnetite and certain sulphide ores show very strong influence on the Magnetic Balance. But the disadvantage is that the instrument may also react by the influence of iron constructions and electric currents even at a considerable distance and there is also the fact to consider that certain useful iron-ore deposits (not magnetite) exercise a remarkably small effect on the Magnetic Balance and for mineral prospecting it does not rank as high as the instruments we are now going to describe.

THE TORSION BALANCE.

Speaking about the experiments with the pendulum in different localities, we have already mentioned that the specific gravity of the crust and its corresponding influence on the swing of the pendulum may be quite unequal in different parts of the world. The force of gravitation which makes any object fall to the ground if released, may vary considerably also locally from place to place.

The Torsion Balance discovered by Cavendish and improved by Baron R. von Eötvös consists of a beam suspended in the middle by a long and exceedingly fine wire and fitted out at both ends with small lumps of metal, the whole enclosed in a protective "house". When the instrument is brought near to any part of the earth's crust which has either an abnormally high or abnormally low specific

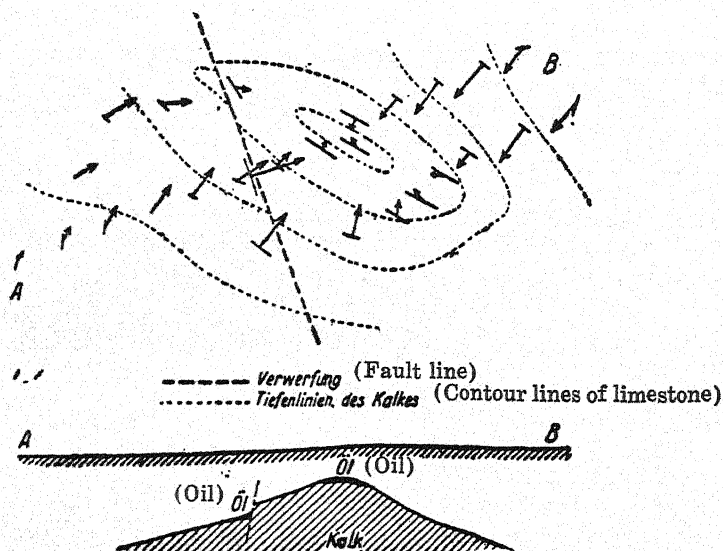
Fig. II. Principle of the Torsion Balance and forces acting upon it.



gravity, the swing of the beam, which may be observed from the outside by prisms and mirrors, is influenced and by calculation we may ascertain and plot on a map the different degree of intensity that the force of gravitation assumes.

Much useful work has been done with the Torsion Balance but there are also here certain drawbacks to relate. It is not so useful in broken territory since neighbouring mountains will show their force of attraction and there is also the disadvantage that readings and calculations take an enormous time. It is also a very expensive instrument, costing, with necessary accessories and implements for transport £1000 or more. But still there is no doubt about the practical achievements attained. In the plains of the southern parts of the United States of America where the problem was to discover the hidden so-called salt-domes or salt plugs of low sp. gravity which often indicate the presence of petroleum, the torsion-balance has achieved veritable triumphs. In 1927, in Texas and Louisiana alone there were about 100 Torsion Balance parties at work and although more than one million dollars were spent on these parties, the results justified the expense inasmuch as 39 salt-plugs were discovered in Texas, 7 in Louisiana and 10 more which were discovered in collaboration between the Torsion Balance parties and the so-called "seismic" parties (which use artificial earthquakes to discover the

Fig. III. Torsion Balance Diagram showing attraction of a limestone anticline broken by a fault.



salt-domes; a method which will be described below). It is clear that the Torsion Balance has established itself as an important instrument for geophysical prospecting.

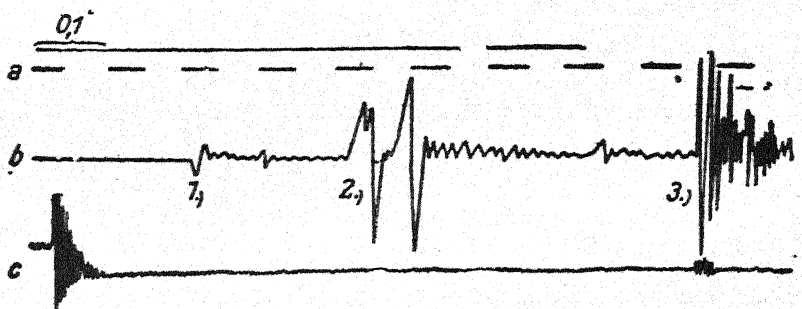
THE SEISMIC METHOD.

Seismology—the science dealing with earthquakes—teaches us that when the earth's crust is strongly disturbed either by natural or artificial causes, waves proceed at high speed from the locality of impulse just as when a stone is thrown into the water. But it was noticed that the seismic waves did not proceed at the same speed in all directions. Parts of the crust propagated the waves quickly and others more slowly. For instance the longitudinal seismic waves proceed through the following substances as below:

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|
| Marble | 5300-6600 metres per second | | | |
| Granite | 4100-5600 | " | " | " |
| Rock Salt | 4400 | " | " | " |
| Sandstone | 2100-2800 | " | " | " |

Thus if we imagine a "salt-plug" enclosed in sandstone it will be noticed that the speed of the waves in the salt is very much higher than in the sandstone. If we produce an artificial earthquake by letting off a charge of dynamite in a hole in the ground and establish some means whereby the speed of propagation of waves can be accurately measured, we may get some idea about geological formations between the point of impulse and the speed-measuring instrument which may be set up at a distance of one or two miles. The arrival of the waves can be ascertained by a so-called field-seismometer, a very sensitive instrument which at the slightest tremor causes a small mirror to flutter. A ray of light is reflected from the mirror into a "movie" camera and the result will be that the tremors are

Fig. IV. Seismic Diagram.



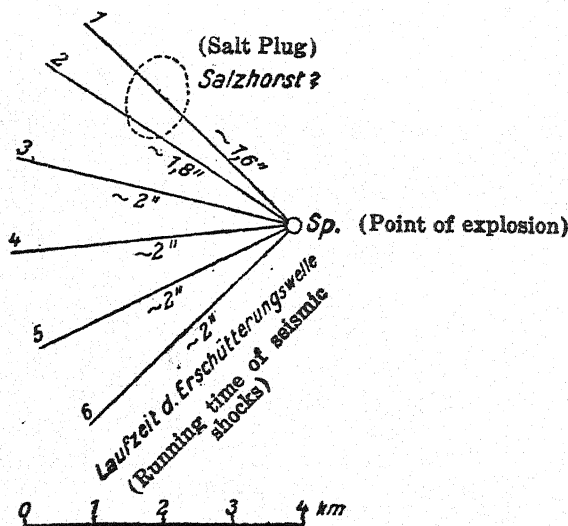
Time Indication: 1. and 2. Arrival of tremors; 3. Arrival of sound.
c. Time of explosion electrically recorded.

depicted on a film as the illustration shows. The moment of explosion is marked by the interruption of an electric current, the wire being wound round the dynamite charge.

The seismic method is mostly applied to the prospecting for petroleum and we may have to work on an alluvium-covered plain where no indications of geological features or of existence of "salt-

plugs" may be available. The greatest success has been achieved by so-called "fan-blasting," the explosive being let off say 6 times and the receiving instrument moved each time along the circumference of a circle with centre at the place of impulse and radius 3 miles. It will be necessary to fire about 50 lbs. of dynamite each time. Now if the waves arrive at the circumference say in 2 seconds for 4 of the

Fig. V. Fan Blasting.



6 rays but in 1.8 sec. for the fifth and 1.6 sec. for the sixth ray, then we may suspect that there is a salt-plug below the two latter rays. See illustration.

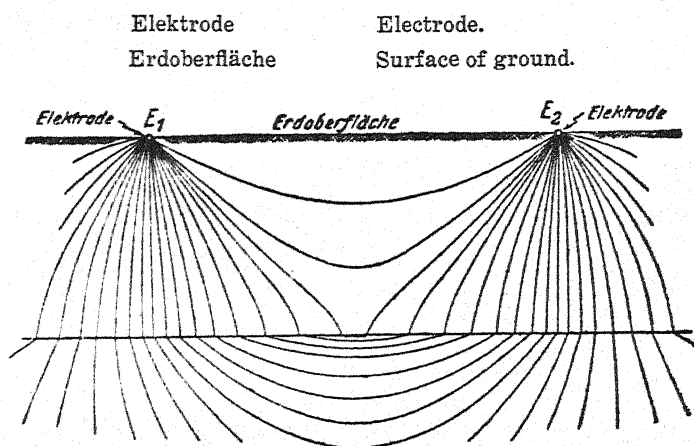
The seismic prospecting is expensive. A party of 10-15 men is needed including a lawyer for settling damage claims by disgruntled farmers! All told the expenses for wages, transport, explosives, damages, etc. will run to U.S. \$15,000 to \$20,000 per month, or for more detailed work 3 to 5 dollars per acre. For reconnaissance work 5 to 12 cents per acre. But there is no doubt regarding the great economical results achieved by this working and the expense was great but was justified by results as about 45 salt-plugs (indicating promise of oil) were discovered and it is estimated that each discovery is worth U.S. \$150,000 to \$500,000. Thus the seismic method created new values to the tune of 10 to 15 million gold dollars.

ELECTRICAL PROSPECTING METHODS.

That the superficial layers of the earth's crust can conduct the electric current was of course known long ago. For instance the single-wire telephone line, where one pole of the battery was "earthed" and the current had to find its own way back through the crust as well as it could, was already used 50 years ago. In electrical prospecting quite a number of different methods are used

such as measuring natural earthcurrents produced by sulphides in the process of chemical decomposition, by introducing a galvanic current at two points on the surface and measuring natural earthcurrents produced by sulphides in the process of chemical decomposition, by introducing a galvanic current at two points on the surface and measuring resistance between the two (fall of potential) and by

Fig. VI. Distribution of current when two different strata are present.



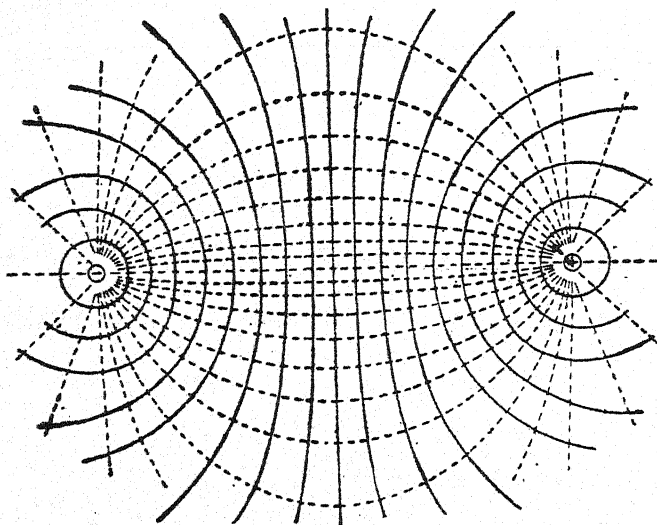
placing a loop of wire on the surface, forcing a current through it and creating by induction an electric current in a possible ore-deposit hidden below, the underground flow in its turn producing by induction a current in a telephone circuit on the surface. The latter method as we have mentioned above was responsible for the discovery of the Boliden and numerous other valuable ore deposits in North Sweden and was demonstrated before the Geophysical World Conference in 1930.

In no other section of Geophysics has such a variety of methods been advocated as in electrical prospecting. We may use natural earth currents or artificial introduction of electricity—weak currents, strong currents, direct or alternating current of varying frequency, establishing equipotential diagrams, measuring intensity of magnetic field in various directions, etc. It is indeed a task for the expert who plays his various instruments like a master musician or an experienced workman with his various tools.

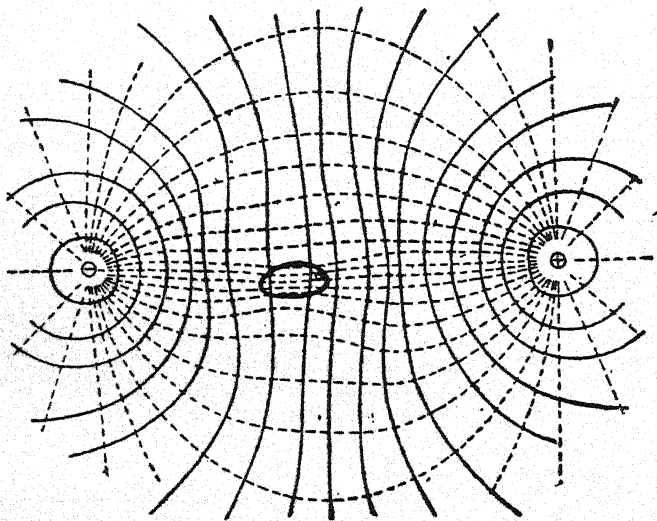
To state briefly the principle of equipotential measurement it is clear that, if we introduce a current into the earth by two poles some distance apart, there will be a fall of potential between the two and by testing the ground with a movable pole connected with a galvanometer we may find and plot on a map the lines, connecting points where the voltage has fallen to a similar figure. If there is nothing abnormal in the way of conductivity between the two main poles the voltage will fall regularly and the equipotential lines assume a symmetrical aspect like in fig. 7. But should there be a conductive body—

Figs. VII & VIII.

Equipotential Lines (black) and current lines (dotted) between point-electrodes.



In normal conditions.



Same when a conductive ore-deposit (heavy black line) disturbs the electrical field.

say an ore deposit—between the lines will show abnormal bends and “kinks” as shown in fig. 8. A new method uses straight-line electrodes instead of the point-electrodes in our diagrams and the normal equipotential lines will then be parallel with the electrode-lines

but show bends and kinks if there is a conductive ore-body between.

The inductive method rests upon the well-known fact that electricity flowing through a wire creates round itself a "field" or influence and we may still remember the simple experiment in elementary physics when a compass-needle was deflected by an electrical current flowing near to it. In a similar way an alternating current produces electricity in a circuit adjoining but not touching the primary flow and with high voltage this influence may be noticed at a considerable distance. It is precisely this principle which is used in the inductive method of electrical prospecting.

A straight-line conductor or a loop of insulated wire with a diameter of the loop from a few metres up to 100 metres is placed on the ground and an alternating current forced through. If there is a conductive ore-body below, a current will be created in this, and will, in its turn, serve to induce a flow of electricity in a circuit on the surface armed with a telephone ear-piece. Since there exists a "lag" of phases between the original current and the underground one, it is possible to damp out the disturbing influence of the former on the telephone circuit. The latter is wound on a frame not more than one metre or less square and easily capable of being carried about and turned in various directions. The original surface current is produced by a small gasoline motor-driven dynamo which is mounted on a stretcher and easily carried about by two men. The whole outfit is therefore portable to an eminent degree. The advantage of the frame-telephone detector is that it can be turned about until the maximum of sound is heard in the telephone. Then we know that the frame is at right angles to the longitudinal dimension of the hidden ore-body. It is also possible to arrive by this method to an approximate knowledge of the dip of the ore-body, if this is sheet- or lense-shaped.

By the change of frequency of the original current and also by enlarging or reducing the surface loop, the expert can draw useful conclusions regarding the formation and quality of the ore-deposit below. With regard to the important question of how deeply one can hope to prospect with this method it depends, of course, on the dimensions of the deposit. The geophysicist A. Graf limits the practical usefulness to depths of 1000 ft. (300 metres). This is indeed an impressive depth and staggers imagination at the possibilities that can be opened up.

A geophysicist may also use a combination of seismic, magnetic and electrical methods for prospecting and there will be few problems that do not yield to all the resources available to the expert. The great advantage of electrical prospecting is that it is comparatively very economical in use. It is generally reckoned that for reconnaissance and detail work covering one square kilometre a period of one month is required by the electrical party, which comprises a geophysicist, one trained assistant and 2 or 3 untrained workmen. The cost for the whole party is generally about £400 to £500 per

month. For the systematic exploration by drilling machine of a similar area about £50,000 would be required. Instead of drawing a blank at most of the holes we may now limit drilling to localities where promising indications have been shown by the electrical prospecting method. The difference in cost is so evident that it is self-explanatory. In electrical oil-prospecting 10 to 15 square kilometres may be measured per month.

THE RADIO-ACTIVE METHOD.

It is well known that radium emanation, a decomposition product of radium, is often found in air and water issuing from faults and fissures in the earth's crust. This can be tested by introducing the air or water into the chamber of an electrometer in which there is a rod or cylinder that has been charged with electricity (static). If radium emanation is present, the electricity will quickly dissipate through the ionised air of the chamber. This can be noticed by the more or less speedy collapse of two aluminium foils attached to the electrified rod which foils, as long as they and the rod are charged with the same kind of electricity, will be repelled and stand out at an angle. The rate of collapse or sinking to vertical position will be proportional to the ionisation and strength of the radio-active air or water introduced. This method can be useful in detecting fault-lines and the water sources connected with them and the fault-lines may be traced by systematical plotting on a chart.

SUCCESS OF ELECTRICAL PROSPECTING.

Electrical prospecting has long passed the experimental stage and its achievements in latter years have been nothing short of sensational. This, however, does not mean that the work of the geologist is rendered superfluous; on the contrary a thorough geological examination should precede and accompany the geophysical work on the property in question. The geologist can often indicate which formations are specially promising and which horizons are useless from the point of view of finding minerals and thus save a lot of time and trouble.

The electrical prospecting methods will serve to tackle the following problems:

- (1) Searching for and locating new ore deposits.
- (2) For detailed examination of partly known deposits and following up ore-veins; also underground in existing mines.
- (3) For location of auriferous quartz-veins.
- (4) For location of oil and gas-structures, such as anticlines, domes, salt-plugs and fault-lines.
- (5) For tectonic examination of coal-fields and their general geological structure, fault-lines, etc.
- (6) For geophysical mapping of hidden boundaries of formations.

(7) For determination of thickness of alluvial formations in river-beds for gold-mining purposes or for construction of dams, bridges and other civil engineering work.

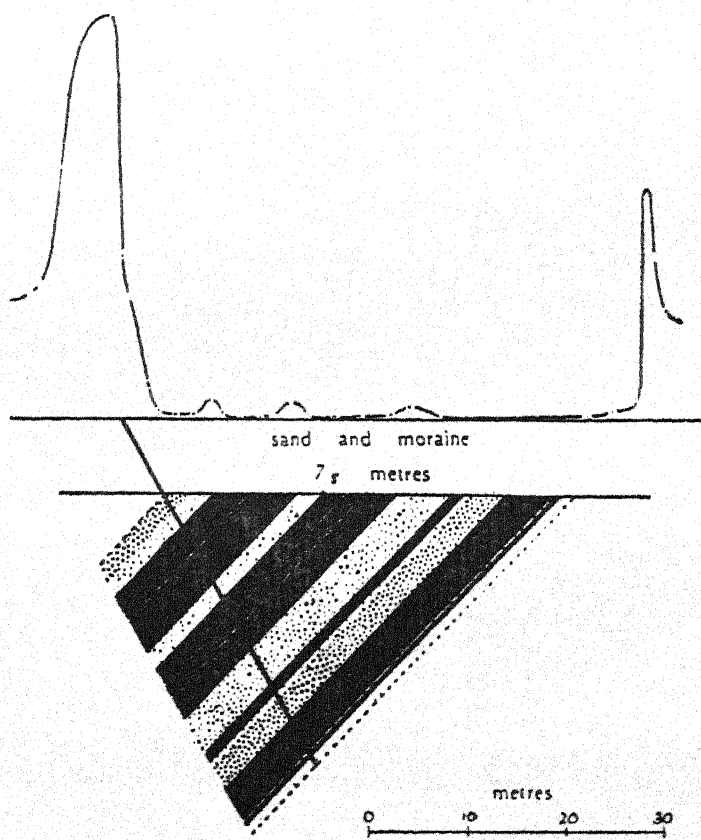
(8) For determination of depth down to the ground-water level.

The present activity of electrical prospecting extends to all continents and 40 different countries. The examination may last from one week up to 3½ years. Governmental departments in several countries (Jugo-Slavia, Australia, Sweden) have engaged electro-prospectors. Since 1918 the Swedish Geological Survey has used these methods year after year for the grand prospecting schemes in Northern Sweden.

Results: In the Skellefte District of N. Sweden more than 100 new sulphide ore deposits have been located by electric methods, amongst which the famous gold-field Boliden which with a present annual production of 8 tons of gold (soon to be increased to 12) is the premier gold-mine of Europe.

On Newfoundland (see above) an unimportant mining pro-

Fig. X. Fall of potential above the conductive ore-deposit of Bjurfors in N. Sweden.



position was enlarged to 6,000,000 tons with 10 grammes of gold, 100 gr. of silver, $11\frac{1}{2}\%$ copper, $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ Lead and 18% Zinc.

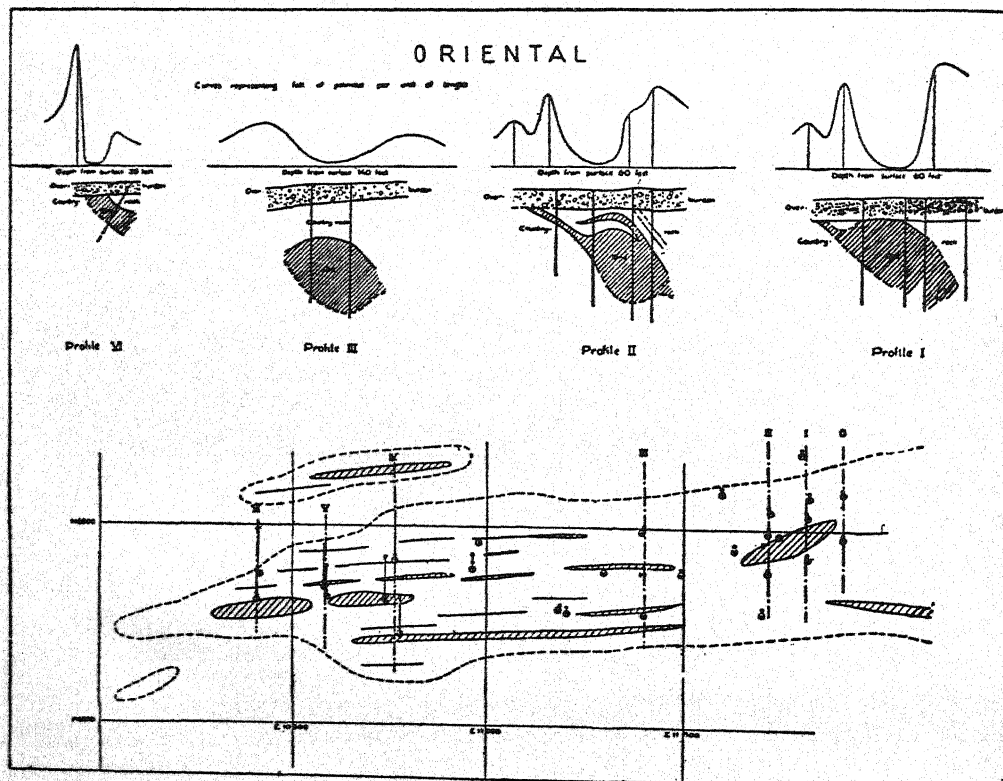
In Questa, New Mexico, there were seven electrical indications for molybdenum ore which were deemed worthy of drilling. All of these indications were found to be true and all were unknown up to that time. Four of the prospects were paying propositions. The economical position and life of this mine was greatly enhanced.

In Uganda, East Africa, very extensive geophysical prospecting for copper was started (magnetic and electrical methods) which gave a complete picture of the geological formations and distribution of ore, and drilling disclosed rich copper ores.

In Western Australia the problem was to locate auriferous quartz veins. 8 drillings were made after electrical examination and 5 auriferous veins located, 2 mineralized veins without gold and only one blank.

In East and West Africa electrical prospecting has been going on for some time to locate auriferous quartz veins which are hidden below a cover of younger unconsolidated formations. In Kenya nineteen indications were followed up by trenching and eighteen of these were found to be auriferous veins.

Fig. XI. Electrical indications above hidden ore-deposits in the Oriental Field, Buchans, Newfoundland.



In U.S.A., Poland, Rumania and Yugo-Slavia petroleum districts have been examined to define promising structural features such as domes, anticlines, salt-plugs, etc. (see above). The oil is often congregating round the circumference of a salt-plug or along fault-lines and the outline of the plug can be defined through the conductivity of saline waters carried in strata which rise up all along the circumference. See illustration.

In Coal Mining areas it is, as miners know, necessary for economical planning of exploitation to know very thoroughly the tectonics and structure of the field and of course especially the fault-lines. In South Sweden a coalfield was electrically examined and the fault-lines which often had a throw of only a few metres were located quite successfully. The agreement with the subsequent pit and adit driving observations was very satisfactory.

In Japan the electrical methods were used for determination of depth to bed-rock for civil engineering projects connected with the government railways and also in Sweden for hydraulic power plants. The depths were found to be correct by the following construction work and much expense was thus avoided.

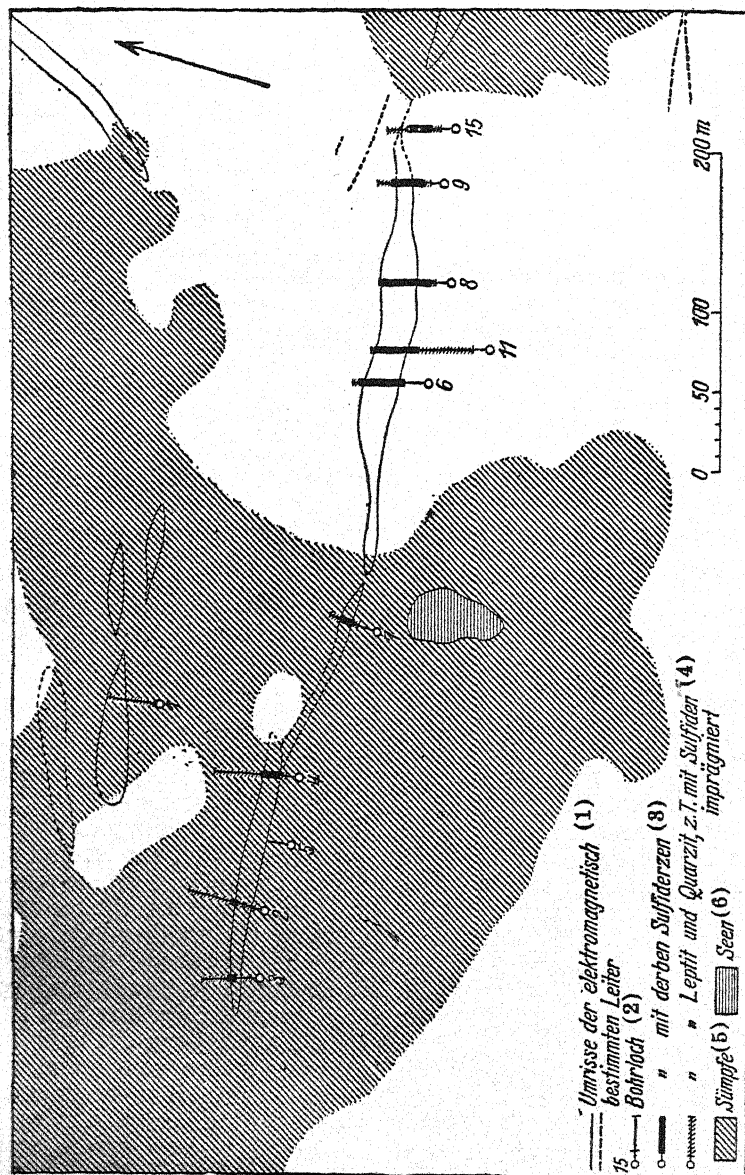
CO-OPERATION OF GEOLOGISTS AND GEOPHYSICISTS.

It has already been mentioned that such co-operation is necessary but it is seldom that such success is attained as by the Geological Survey of Sweden combined with the Electrical Prospecting Company of Stockholm. The discoveries in North Sweden have added immensely to the national resources of that country and have shown what a combination of geologists and geophysicists can achieve. The story of discovery sounds almost like a romance.

Certain loose blocks of good sulphide ore had been discovered in the sand and soil of the glacial overburden at a certain place in North Sweden. Now the geologists could tell by observing "glacial striae" on existing outcrops of common rock in the neighbourhood (the striae are scratches inflicted upon the rock by the Inland Ice which covered Sweden say 10,000 years or so ago) that the ice had travelled from a certain direction and pushed the debris of ore along. By following this direction "up-stream" and covering square mile after square mile with electrical prospecting the mother-lode of the ore was approached and one lucky day the telephone detector gave a "buzz" and the limits of the ore-deposit was found and could be marked with pegs on the ground. Subsequent drilling and trenching revealed an important ore-field (the Kristineberg deposit) and this was only the beginning (in 1918) of prospecting work which has been carried on to this day and resulted in location of more than 100 new ore-deposits. It is already stated that the famous gold-mine Boliden belongs to this group and that this great ore-lens was so completely hidden under 60 ft. of soil that not even a particle of ore was visible on the surface. Hard work, but a triumphal success. The German professor Hermann Reich calls Boliden the "Riesenerfolg" (gigantic result) of geophysical prospecting.

An illustration is given here to show the pegging out by electricity of the Boliden deposit on the surface and the subsequent drill holes

Fig. XII.
The Boliden Gold-Field in N. Sweden, discovered and outlined by electrical prospecting.



(1) Contours of deposit determined electrically. (2) Drill-holes. (3) With solid sulphide ore. (4) With
lignite and quartzite, partly with ore.

all of which struck ore. It was also possible to ascertain the dip. The thickness of the ore-lens which stands up fairly steeply, is from 10 to 30 metres and length not less than 600 metres, so that we have here a very important ore-body. It contains iron pyrites, chalcopyrites, arsenopyrites, bismuth sulphide, etc. and contains 2% of copper, 20 grammes of gold and 60 gr. of silver per ton. The ore is railed down to the coast of the Bothnian Gulf and there smelted, the copper extracted and the gold and silver separated by electrolysis. The considerable tenure of arsenic is remarkable and it has been a difficult problem to dispose of the tens and thousands of tons of poisonous matter. It is now being stored in gigantic concrete godowns.

POSSIBLE APPLICATION OF GEOPHYSICAL PROSPECTING IN CHINA.

During the latter two decades the geologists in China have done an immense amount of work and many new ore-deposits have been located. It is not too much to say that the Chinese Geological Survey, which this year celebrates its 20th anniversary, has contributed enormously not only to the knowledge of stratigraphical sequence of formations but also in a general way to the better understanding of the country's natural resources and it is a wonder how the institution, during these troublesome years, has not only been able to carry on but has attained a very honoured position amongst sister institutions all over the world. The directors, the late Dr. V. K. Ting, Dr. Wong Wen-hao and Prof. C. Y. Hsieh deserve the greatest praise for their determination and their love of science as such, and a fine co-operation has existed and does exist with their foreign advisers such as Prof. A. W. Grabau and others.

But these geologists will be the first to admit that, however useful geology is in revealing stratigraphy and tectonics of a field and the formations which may be promising or useless for presence of minerals, there are times when the occurrence of such minerals is so erratic and irregular and their continuation in the field so hard to estimate, that they would long for "the divining rod" of geophysics to enable them to know the secrets hidden underground.

Moreover, there is a very urgent need for China to obtain larger reserves of minerals since the metallic ores so far known to exist are not adequate for the present needs and still less so for the future requirements of a people set upon the path of progress. Even now lead and zinc are imported into China to the tune of millions of dollars each and sulphides are badly needed for the future production of sulphuric acid, that important pillar of chemical industry. The copper supplies are also quite insufficient. In the case of tin, antimony and tungsten, in the production of which China owns a fair share of the world supply, the present deposits should be extended by geophysical prospecting. This applies to molybdenum ore and arsenopyrites too.

With reference to oil, the present output is exceedingly poor. Oil is found in Shensi, Szechwan, Kansu and Sinkiang. It may be that the quantities of oil underground are not great and it is a discouraging fact that in Szechwan, at Tzū-Liu-Tsing, one has penetrated with native drills not less than 2000 or more feet and yet found but a poor supply of oil. In view of the acute need of oil for China's increasing

motor traffic it would, however, be desirable to ascertain whether promising features such as salt-plugs (see above) domes, anticlines and faults exist in the present oil-fields.

Regarding the two main pillars of industry: iron and coal, it is to be regretted that the supply of the former is by no means adequate for the present needs and still less for the future requirements of this great nation. The iron-ore reserves could possibly be extended by gravimetric prospecting. The coal resources of China are undoubtedly immense and coal exists in every province. It is by far the foremost of all the mineral resources of the country. For a scientific exploitation of the coal-fields the miners would welcome an extension of knowledge by geophysical prospecting of the underground structure such as anticlines, synclines and faultlines. Even water prospecting might be desirable and successful in arid North China.

The triumphal spread of geophysical prospecting all over the world constitutes a challenge to the modern, progressive Chinese, whether in government departments or in private concerns, and they will do well in studying these modern methods for enhancement of the mining industry and for creating new possibilities for the supply of minerals in China.

CHINA'S NORTH-WEST PASSAGE: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TARIM BASIN IN THE LATER HAN DYNASTY

By F. S. Drake

In a previous article, entitled "China's North-west Passage: A Chapter in its Opening",¹ the geography of Central Asia was briefly described, and the westward extension of Chinese power into the Tarim Basin under the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C.—A.D. 9). It was there shown how during the second century B.C. the Hsiung-nu (匈奴), commonly supposed to be the parent stock of the Huns, the nomad power on the Mongolian plateau, from their base at Hami (哈密) dominated the oasis-states of the Tarim Basin, and harried the north-western frontier of China; and how the Chinese during a hundred years of conflict pushed forward their camps and frontier defences through the westward extension of modern Kansu to the very edge of the Tarim desert, and planted military colonies (屯田) under a Protector-General² (都護) at strategic places in the Tarim Basin itself, until in the reign of the Emperor Yüan (元帝 48-33 B.C.) they succeeded in establishing a military colony in the state called Nearer Chü-shih (前車師) in the present Turfan region, so blocking the route by which the Hsiung-nu raided the Tarim Basin, and dominating their base at Hami. Chinese domination of the Tarim Basin, then known as the "Western Regions" (西域), and Chinese prestige throughout Central Asia, lasted to the end of the Former Han Dynasty. During the Yüan-shih period (元始 A.D. 1—6) however, which corresponds with the reign of the Emperor P'ing (平帝) when the Former Han Dynasty was drawing to its close, unredressed grievances in the Turfan region led to the king of one of the Chü-shih states going over to the Hsiung-nu. The king of another small state followed, and for a similar reason. Although a protest was lodged with the Hsiung-nu, and the two kings were delivered up for execution, the action was ominous of the storm that was to break when Wang Mang (王莽) usurped the throne and the dynasty came to an end.

¹ See *Journal of North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LXVI, 1935.

² In the previous article called "Governor-General."

I. THE BREAK-DOWN UNDER WANG MANG (A.D. 9—23)

"When Wang Mang usurped the throne (A.D. 9)," says the Later Han History,³ "he lowered the dignity (of the Shan-yü⁴ of the Hsiung-nu) by changing (his title) to that of vassal-king (侯王); upon this the Western Regions in resentment revolted; all relations with China were severed, and they again became subject to the Hsiung-nu."

The details of the steps by which this came about are given in the Former Han History, Book 96 (ii) "The Western Regions",⁵ and Book 94 (ii) "The Hsiung-nu".⁶ The main outline of the course of events was as follows, and gives the impression of mismanagement as the cause of the disaster.

In the first year of Wang Mang's usurpation (A.D. 9), he lowered the rank of the Shan-yü by changing the style of the seal of investment to that of a feudal prince. When the Shan-yü discovered the nature and significance of the new seal, he protested, but received no satisfaction. Accordingly he took advantage of another irritating incident to send ten thousand horsemen to occupy the country outside the Great Wall in the region of the Yellow River bend.

The next year (A.D. 10) the king of Farther Chü-shih (後車師 according to Chavannes,⁷ Dsimisa, sixty *li* west of Ku Ch'êng-tzū 古城子) foreseeing the difficulty of meeting the demands of Wang Mang's new officers in the Western Regions contemplated submission to the Hsiung-nu. The thing became known and the king of Farther Chü-shih was executed by the Chinese military authorities stationed in the Turfan region. The result was that the brother of the executed king fled with two thousand men and all their cattle and property to the Hsiung-nu, and joined the Hsiung-nu in a raid on the Chü-shih territory, killing and wounding some persons of high position in the administration.

Upon this some of the officers in the Chinese military outpost in the Turfan region foreseeing a general revolt of the Western States, and fearing an irresistible invasion by the Hsiung-nu, planned and carried out the murder of the officer in command of that key position, and went over to the Hsiung-nu.

Wang Mang endeavoured to meet this situation by dividing the power of the Hsiung-nu. He declared that the authority over the Hsiung-nu should be divided between fifteen Shan-yü, and sought to win over the various Hsiung-nu princes by rich gifts and high-sounding titles, and by sending a force of ten thousand men to the frontier at Yün-chung (雲中 the present Ta-t'ung 大同). This action however only aroused the wrath of the existing Shan-yü, who forthwith invaded the frontier at Ta-t'ung, slaying indiscriminately. From this time also—A.D. 11—he ordered all his commanders and feudal princes to ravage the frontier; they slew the governors of Yen-mên (雁門) and Shuo-fang (朔方), and carried off captives and cattle without number.

³ Bk. 118 "The Western Regions," Shanghai, T'ung Wên ed., p. 1.

⁴ 單于 The title of the Chief of the Hsiung-nu.

⁵ 前漢書. 卷九十六下. 西域傳.

⁶ 前漢書. 卷九十四下. 匈奴傳.

⁷ *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 559.

Wang Mang replied to this by a grandiose scheme by which an immense force of three hundred thousand men, operating in twelve divisions, was to march to the frontier by ten different routes, drive out the Hsiung-nu and set up the fifteen Shan-yü. In spite of advice to the contrary by his commander, Wang Mang persisted in his plan. The unwieldy forces, however, were never able to leave their cantonments, and the Hsiung-nu continued their ravages and massacres. "For many years the northern frontier was desolate, and the fields an expanse of bleaching bones".⁸

There is no need to follow the failure of Wang Mang's frontier policy in detail any further. Suffice it to say that in A.D. 13 the Shan-yü of the Hsiung-nu died, and a new Shan-yü with certain attachments to China was appointed. Wang Mang sedulously cultivated him with presents, and in A.D. 14 withdrew his military colonies. He also hid from the new Shan-yü the fact that he had executed his son two years before. When this became known to the Shan-yü he received Wang Mang's gifts and honours, but continued his raids upon the frontier.

This being the state of affairs between China and the Hsiung-nu, it is natural that the states of the Tarim Basin should throw over Chinese control. "The Hsiung-nu", says the Former Han History, "vigorously attacked the northern frontier, and the Western Regions were disrupted".⁹

The first state to rebel was Yen-ch'i (焉耆 the present Qarashahr) that lay across the route to the Tarim Basin from the base of the Hsiung-nu at Hami, and that was near to the headquarters of the Chinese Protector-General (都護) at Wu-lei (烏壘). "Yen-ch'i", says the Former Han History, "being near to the Hsiung-nu, rebelled first, and slew the Protector-General, Tan Ch'in (但欽); Wang Mang was unable to exact punishment".¹⁰

In A.D. 15 however, Wang Mang made an effort to reassert his control over the Western Regions. He sent out a new Protector-General and other officers to the Tarim Basin. They received the submission of the various states; Yen-ch'i also simulated submission, but collected troops in readiness. The Chinese gathered a force of over seven thousand men from Yarkand (莎車) and Kucha (龜茲), and entered Yen-ch'i. Yen-ch'i had troops in ambush, and the states of Ku-mo (姑墨 Ush-Turfan), Wei-li (尉犁 near Kurla), and Wei-hsü (危須 near Qarashahr), rebelled and turned against and slew the Chinese commanding officer and his company. One officer, however, escaped and leading the soldiers under his command into Yen-ch'i, before the men of Yen-ch'i had returned, massacred their aged and defenceless, and departed. The Protector-General collected the remnants of his forces and maintained himself at Kucha (龜茲 pronounced Ch'iu-tz'ü 丘茲). After some years (A.D. 23) Wang Mang was assassinated, and the Protector-General himself perished. Relations between China and the Western States were then completely severed.

⁸ *Former Han Hist.* Bk. 94 (ii) "The Hsiung-nu", p. 34 v.

⁹ Bk. 96 (ii) "The Western Regions", p. 21 v.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22 v.

Once again the Tarim Basin passed under the domination of the Hsiung-nu. The oasis-states, however, were soon oppressed with heavy taxation, and when the Later Han Dynasty was established in A.D. 25 they appealed to China for another Protector-General. The new Emperor (Kuang-wu Ti 光武帝 A.D. 25—58) however, was fully occupied with settling the country and declined their request.

II. A HUNDRED YEARS OF CONFLICT (A.D. 25—131)

"From the Chien-wu period (建武 A.D. 25) to the Yen-kuang period (延光 A.D. 126)", says the Later Han History,¹¹ "relations with the Western Regions were thrice cut off and thrice restored". The first hundred years of the Later Han Dynasty were therefore a period of conflict, in which the states of the Tarim Basin were in subjection now to the Hsiung-nu, now to China, and now given over to conflict among themselves.

(1) *The First Fifty Years of Disruption* (A.D. 25—73)

As we have seen, this period of one hundred years opened with the inability of the Chinese to assume responsibility for the Western States. The power of the Hsiung-nu over those states also declined, and the kingdom of Yarkand (莎車) conquered and subjugated the rest. When Yarkand in turn declined, a period of general warfare followed, which resulted in the emergence of Shan-shan (鄯善 also called Loulan), Khoten (于寔), and Chü-shih (車師 the Turfan region), which each annexed the states nearest to them.

During the reign of the Emperor Ming (明帝), which coincided with the Yung-p'ing period (永平 A.D. 58-75), the Hsiung-nu again rose to power, and not only pressed on all the Western States, but also over-ran north-west China as well—that part of the country then known as "West of the (Yellow) River" (河西). "The city gates", says the historian of the Later Han Dynasty, "were closed day and night for sixteen years"¹² (that is, during the first sixteen years of the reign of Ming Ti, A.D. 58—73). Thus for the first fifty years of the Later Han Dynasty the Western Regions were severed from intercourse with China, and for a large part of the period they were in a state of anarchy among themselves.

(2) *The Attempt of Ming Ti* (A.D. 73)

The first restoration of Chinese authority occurred at the close of the reign of the Emperor Ming Ti (明帝), and was only temporary. In the sixteenth year of his reign (A.D. 73) the Emperor sent an expedition under Tou Ku (竇固) against the Hsiung-nu to the north and seized Hami (then called I-wu-lu 伊吾廬 or I-wu 伊吾)—the ancient base from which the Hsiung-nu controlled the Western Regions—and planted a military colony there. The effect upon the states of the Tarim Basin was immediate. Communications with Khoten (于寔) were forthwith re-opened, and the neighbouring states sent

¹¹ Bk. 118, "The Western Regions", p. 5 r.

¹² Bk. 118, "The Western Regions", p. 1 v.

hostages to the Chinese Court. "The Western Regions that had been cut off (from China) for sixty-five years (that is from the usurpation of Wang Mang in A.D. 9, to the sixteenth year of Ming Ti, A.D. 73), were opened up again".¹³ The next year, A.D. 74, the post of Protector-General (都護) was restored, and high military officers (戊己校尉) were appointed at Chü-shih (車師 Turfan); but the next year, A.D. 75, the Emperor Ming died, and the second period of disruption commenced.

(3) *The withdrawal of the Chinese from Turfan and Hami*
(A.D. 76-78).

The second period of disruption commenced by the states of Yen-ch'i (焉耆 Qarashahr) and Ch'iu-tz'ü (龜茲 Kucha) attacking and slaying the Protector-General Ch'ên Mu (陳睦) (at Wu-lei? 烏壘), and the Hsiung-nu and the state of Chü-shih (車師 Turfan) together beseiging the new military officers who were stationed at Chü-shih. In spite of the fact that the next year (A.D. 76) the Chinese inflicted a severe defeat upon Chü-shih, the new Emperor Chang Ti (章帝 A.D. 76-89), not wishing to wear out the Chinese with continual wars with the barbarous tribes, withdrew the high officers from Chü-shih (Turfan), and closed down the military colony at I-wu (Hami), and did not appoint another Protector-General. The Hsiung-nu then occupied I-wu (Hami) until the end of the reign, and once again controlled from there the eastern entrance to the Tarim Basin.

Meantime in the western end of the Tarim Basin, a Chinese officer with nothing to rely upon but his own resourcefulness, was slowly consolidating his position; this was Pan Ch'ao (班超), who from A.D. 73 had established himself at Khoten (于闐), and who was to be the chief factor in the second restoration of Chinese power in the Tarim Basin under the Later Han Dynasty.

(4) *The enterprise of Pan Ch'ao* (A.D. 73-102).

The second restoration of Chinese power commenced with the reign of the Emperor Ho (和帝 A.D. 89-105), when the Great General Tou Hsien (大將軍竇憲), (first cousin once removed of the former conqueror of Hami, Tou Ku 竇固), defeated the Hsiung-nu in A.D. 80, and recovered I-wu (Hami) in A.D. 90. But the completion of the work was due to Pan Ch'ao (班超), who was the outstanding figure in the Western Regions at that time, and whose progress we must now describe.

Pan Ch'ao was a younger brother of the historian of the Former Han Dynasty, Pan Ku (班固). He commenced life in poverty, and earned money to support his mother by writing official documents. His inclination however was to seek a fortune in the western Regions. In the year A.D. 73 when the Emperor Ming sent his expedition against the Hsiung-nu to recover Hami, Pan Ch'ao was given the post of ssü-ma (司馬) and performed distinguished service. Tou Ku (竇固), the commander of the expedition, then sent him with a

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 2 r.

senior colleague on a mission to the Western States. On arriving at Shan-shan (鄯善) by Lop-nor they found a mission from the Hsiung-nu established there exercising predominating influence over the king. Pan Ch'ao by an act of daring, and without consulting his senior officer, surprised and slew the Hsiung-nu envoys, and so gained control over the king of Shan-shan.

Pan Ch'ao was raised to the rank of chün ssü-ma (軍司馬) and sent on another mission westwards, this time himself in charge. He took with him only the small and tried band of thirty men that had stood by him at Shan-shan, and reached Khoten (于阗). At this time Khoten had recently defeated the powerful Yarkand (莎車), and was the leading power among the oases south of the desert. The Hsiung-nu also had envoys there, through whom they supervised the kingdom. Pan Ch'ao arriving with all the fame of his exploit at Shan-shan got control of and put to death a wizard in whom the king of Khoten put his trust, and so struck terror into the king, who immediately slew the Hsiung-nu envoys, and declared for the Chinese. The oases of the southern route as far as Yarkand were now in alliance with the Chinese.

The Hsiung-nu, however, still controlled the northern route through the powerful kingdom of Ch'iu-tz'ü (龜茲 Kucha), that had that same year attacked and defeated Kashgar (疏勒) and set up a native of Ch'iu-tz'ü as king. The next year Pan Ch'ao by a surprise attack got control of the person of the new king, and to the joy of the people, set up in Kashgar a king of their own race, the elder brother of the former king.

The following year, A.D. 75, was the one in which the Emperor Ming (明帝) died, and as we have seen, the work he had done in the eastern end of the Tarim Basin was shattered. The states of Yen-ch'i (焉耆 Qarashahr) and Ch'iu-tz'ü (龜茲 Kucha) attacked and slew the recently established Protector-General, and the new military colony at Hami was withdrawn.

Pan Ch'ao was left in a perilous position. The Hsiung-nu re-occupied Hami and once again controlled the eastern approach to the Tarim Basin. Ch'iu-tz'ü (龜茲 Kucha) and its western neighbour Ku-mo (如墨 identified by Chavannes¹⁴ with Aqsu, and by the Chinese Geographical Dictionary, Commercial Press, with Pai Ch'êng Hsiem 拜城縣 between Aqsu and Kucha) immediately besieged Pan Ch'ao in Kashgar. Pan Ch'ao held out with his small force for over a year, when the new emperor in pursuance of his policy of withdrawing from the Western Regions ordered Pan Ch'ao's recall. Pan Ch'ao returned as far as Khoten, where the people begged him so earnestly to remain—even throwing their arms round the legs of his horse—that he yielded to their request and to his own inclination, and remained.

Meantime Kashgar had submitted again to Ch'iu-tz'ü (龜茲 Kucha), and there followed a period of struggle for several years, in which Pan Ch'ao at the head of the troops of Khoten contested with Ch'iu-tz'ü the supremacy of the Tarim Basin. During the struggle Kashgar changed hands several times; Yarkand also revolted

¹⁴ *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 553, n. 1.

against Khoten; the states beyond the Pamirs became involved in the struggle, the troops of K'ang-chü (康居 Sogdiana) fighting now on one side, now on the other. Meantime Pan Ch'ao, A.D. 78 petitioned the Emperor to allow him to remain, and to send reinforcements, describing in optimistic language the prospects of the Chinese in the Tarim Basin. The petition was accepted and a small number of reinforcements sent.

Pan Ch'ao's policy was "to use barbarians to fight barbarians",¹⁵ and he exerted himself to combine the forces of the states south of the desert, as well as those beyond the Pamirs, against Ch'iu-tzū (龜茲 Kucha) and the northern states. He conceived the plan of forming an alliance between China and the Wu-sun (烏孫) in the Ili Valley beyond the T'ien Shan, and sent a petition to this effect to the Emperor, which was accepted. An envoy was sent to the Wu-sun, and Pan Ch'ao was promoted. The next year K'ang-chü (康居 Sogdiana) was assisting the revolted Kashgar, and Pan Ch'ao managed to bring about the withdrawal of their troops by sending presents to their allies, the distant Yüeh Chih (月支) beyond the Hindu Kush. Kashgar was finally recovered by Pan Ch'ao in A.D. 84.

The critical struggle for Yarkand (莎車) now commenced; in A.D. 88 Pan Ch'ao and the king of Khoten with their allied states advanced against Yarkand with twenty-five thousand men; the king of Ch'iu-tzū (龜茲 Kucha) sent from the various states allied with him an army of fifty thousand. Pan Ch'ao, by a ruse, inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. Yarkand submitted, and the troops from Ch'iu-tz'ü and her allies withdrew and dispersed. The Western States were over-awed.

The Yüeh Chih (月支), who at this time were developing their great empire over Afghanistan, north-west India and Kashmir, with their capital at Peshawar in Gandhara (健馱羅), now sent presents and asked for a Chinese princess; but their overtures were rejected by Pan Ch'ao. The Yüeh Chih in resentment sent an army of seventy thousand men across the Pamirs (A.D. 90). Pan Ch'ao outnumbered, refused to come out and give battle. He let the huge host, far from its base, exhaust itself in an exhausted country; then anticipated and ambushed their emissaries to Ch'iu-tz'ü (龜茲 Kucha). The Yüeh Chih were glad to be allowed to escape with no worse mishap, and retired.

The next year, A.D. 91, the states north of the desert submitted—Ch'iu-tzū (龜茲 Kucha), Ku-mo (姑墨 Aqsu) and Wen-hsü (溫宿 identified by Chavannes,¹⁶ with Ush-Turfan, by the Chinese Geographical Dictionary, Commercial Press, with Aqsu)—and Pan Ch'ao was made Protector-General (都護) of the Western Regions. Thus the office was restored after a lapse of sixteen years (A.D. 75-91). Pan Ch'ao set up his headquarters in Ch'iu-tz'ü (龜茲 Kucha); a garrison of five hundred men was sent to Turfan (高昌壁); a resident (候) was sent to Farther Chü-shih (Dsimsa, west of Ku-Ch'eng-tzū); and a military colony (屯) was planted at Kashgar.

¹⁵ *Later Han Hist.* Bk. 77 "Biography of Pan Ch'ao", p. 6 r.

¹⁶ *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 553, n. 1.

It only remained to reduce Yen-ch'i (焉耆 Qarashahr) and the two small neighbouring states that had been guilty of destroying the last Protector-General, and that were still unsubdued. In A.D. 94 Pan Ch'ao collected an immense force—seventy thousand men—from the neighbouring states, and advanced against Yen-ch'i and the two smaller states. He inflicted upon them a crushing defeat; fifty and more kingdoms then offered their submission, and the reconquest of the Western Regions was complete. It had taken Pan Ch'ao twenty-one years (A.D. 73-94) to work his way round the desert and to return to his starting point at the eastern end. The Han History has it that states as far distant as An-hsi (安息 Persia) and T'iao-chih (條枝 Mesopotamia), "as far as the coast of the sea", sent their tribute to China.

Three years later (A.D. 97) Pan Ch'ao sent his emissary, Kan Ying (甘英), on his famous journey to the west. One passage in the Later Han History says specifically that he was sent on a mission to Ta-ts'in (大秦), which seems clearly to be the Roman Orient; another passage simply states that he was sent as far as possible to the Western Sea. He did not reach Ta-ts'in. He went as far as T'iao-chih (條枝 Mesopotamia) and "came to the borders of a great sea," which is usually taken to be the Persian Gulf. He was told by the seamen that with favourable winds it would take three months to cross the sea and return and that with head-winds it would take two years. Kan Ying decided not to make the attempt, and returned. He brought back news of distant parts to which no Chinese had before penetrated, and no doubt the descriptions of Ta-ts'in (the Roman Orient) contained in the Wei Liao (魏略) and the Later Han History are largely due to the information which he gathered.

In A.D. 102 Pan Ch'ao, at his own request, was recalled in honourable old age. His thirty years of active service in the Western Regions however had taken their toll of his strength, and he died the same year at the age of seventy-one.

(5) *The third abandonment of the Western Regions* (A.D. 107).

The Emperor Ho (和帝) under whom Pan Ch'ao's final victories had been won, died three years later (A.D. 105), and the Western States revolted again—this was the third of the three periods of disruption. In the year A.D. 107 (the first of the Emperor An 安帝 A.D. 107-126, the Emperor Shang 殤帝 having only reigned one year, A.D. 106), the successor of Pan Ch'ao was attacked and besieged several times, and the Imperial Court, in view of the difficulty of controlling these distant regions, decided to abolish once again the office of Protector-General. The Chinese once more abandoned the Western Regions, and the Hsiung-nu subjugated the various states, and in company with them ravaged the Chinese border for more than ten years.

Sir Aurel Stein in "Ruins of Desert Cathay" says that the archaeological discoveries show that during the period following upon the reconquest by Pan Ch'ao the Tarim Basin entered upon a period of great prosperity; irrigation works were undertaken, and the area under cultivation reached far into the desert. The account in the Chinese histories however suggests a very short period of peace and prosperity.

(6) *The reconquest by Pan Yung* (A.D. 119-127).

The third reconquest of the Western Regions during this period of one hundred years was also a slow process, and not lasting in its effects. The achievement was primarily due to the persistence and prowess of Pan Yung (班勇), a younger son of Pan Ch'ao, and the centre of the conflict was the eastern end of the Tarim Basin, in particular the regions of Turfan and Hami.

The reconquest commenced with disaster. In A.D. 119 (the sixth year of the Yüan-ch'ü period 元初), the governor of Tun-huang (敦煌太守) sent the ch'ang-shih (長史) Su Pan (索班), in command of more than a thousand men, to settle a military colony at I-wu (伊吾Hami). This had the effect of bringing in the kings of Shan-shan (鄯善) and of Nearer Chü-shih (車師前王Turfan). The Hsiung-nu however combined with Farther Chü-shih (車師後部王Dsimsa, west of Ku Ch'êng-tzū 古城子), and attacked and slew the ch'ang-shih Su Pan (長史索班), and put to flight the king of Nearer Chü-shih, and so regained control of the northern road. The king of Shan-shan was thus left in a precarious position; he appealed to the governor of Tun-huang for help, who in turn appealed to the Imperial Court for five thousand men to stay the advance of the Hsiung-nu and to avenge the death of Su Pan.

Pan Yung (班勇), younger son of Pan Ch'ao (班超), had already had experience of military service in the Western Regions, with the rank of chün-ssü-ma (軍司馬), before the abandonment of those parts more than ten years before. At this juncture he was called to the Court for advice. The prevailing opinion was in favour of complete abandonment of the Western Regions, and of the closing of the Jade Gate (玉門關). Pan Yung however opposed this; he deduced the difficulty and inadvisability of undertaking a distant expedition on the one hand, and on the other the fatal danger of a completely negative policy; he advised the re-establishment of a camp (營) of three hundred men at Tun-huang, the re-appointment of a Vice Hsiao-wei (副校尉) with headquarters at Tun-huang, to act as Protector of the Western Regions, and further that a ch'ang-shih of the Western Regions (西域長史) should be sent in command of five hundred men to establish a military colony at Loulan (樓蘭 in Shan-shan). To these proposals it was objected by some that they would be ineffective; by others that the Western Regions had only been a source of loss to the Chinese and should be relinquished. To these Pan Yung replied that the appointment of these officers and of the military colony at Loulan would be sufficient to strengthen the loyalty of the well-affected states towards China, and to encourage them to resist the overtures of the Hsiung-nu; while the complete abandonment of them would leave them no alternative but to submit to the nomads, who would then utilise their large resources of men and means to invade and ravage the frontiers of China, and the ultimate cost to China would be infinitely more than the small expenses of a military colony.

The counsel of Pan Yung prevailed; the garrison of five hundred men was re-established at Tun-huang, and the Vice Hsiao-wei was appointed. But it was not found possible to establish the military colony at Loulan. The Hsiung-nu, with Chü-shih, continued their

ravages, and the Chinese region "West of the River" (河西) suffered greatly from them.

In A.D. 123 however a bolder policy was followed. Pan Yung was made Ch'ang-shih (長史) of the Western Regions, and at the head of five hundred men went out to establish a military colony at Liu-chung (柳中 Lukchun, at the eastern end of the Turfan depression). This more daring move was made at the request of the Governor of Tun-huang (Chang Tang 張瑄), supported by one of the Imperial ministers. The arguments used were much like those used by Pan Yung before.

Pan Yung's task was not a simple one, and only by degrees was he able to work his way out to Liu-chung. At the beginning of A.D. 124 he reached Loulan, and received the submission of the king. By showing consideration and good faith, Pan Yung won over the king of Ch'iu-tz'ü (龜茲 Kucha), who in turn brought the kings of Ku-mo (姑墨 Aqsu) and Wen-hsü (溫宿 Ush-Turfan) to offer submission.

Pan Yung then put into the field the forces of these kingdoms, horse and foot, to the number of over ten thousand men, and advanced upon Nearer Chü-shih (車師前王 Turfan), where he routed the king of the Hsiung-nu. The allegiance of Nearer Chü-shih was thus recovered, and the military colony planted at Liu-chung. As we find later that the king of Yen-ch'i (焉耆 Qarashahr) had not submitted to the Chinese, and as Liu-chung is at the eastern end of the Turfan depression, it seems that Pan Yung must have proceeded round the eastern end of the Quruq Tagh, and not by the T'ieh-mên Pass and Qarashahr.

In the autumn of the next year, A.D. 125—Pan Yung proceeded to attack Farther Chü-shih (車師後部王), beyond the Bodo-Ula (博格多山 or 白山). This is identified by Chavannes with Dsimsa, sixty li west of Ku Ch'êng-tzū, as noted above. To do this he drew six thousand horsemen from the Chinese commands (郡) of Tun-huang (敦煌), Chiu-ch'üan (酒泉 Suchow), and Chang-yeh (張掖 Kanchow), that guarded the western extension of the Great Wall, and also mobilised the troops of the Western States—Shan-shan, Kashgar, and the recently recovered Nearer Chü-shih. He inflicted a great defeat upon Farther Chü-shih, taking captive many men, and a great quantity of horses and cattle. He captured also the king himself, and an envoy from the Hsiung-nu. These he took to the place where Su Pan (索班) had perished in A.D. 119, and executed them there, thus avenging that disaster.

The next year, A.D. 126, Pan Yung consolidated his conquest of Farther Chü-shih by setting up as king, the son of the late king; he also put to death the king of another tribe in the Chü-shih region—the king of East Tsü-mi (東且彌), as to the position of which authorities differ¹⁷—and set up another king in his place. The Six

¹⁷ Encyclopedic Dictionary 辭源: S.W. of present Shan-shan Hsien 鄯善縣, eastern end of Turfan depression;

Chinese Geographical Dictionary 中國古今地名大辭典: in the present Ch'ang-chi and Sui-lai districts 昌吉縣, 安來縣, near Manass and Urumchi; Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 210; probably between Lake Barkol and Ku Ch'êng-tzū.

Tribes or States of the Chū-shih Region (車師六國),¹⁸ comprising the territory north and south of the Bogdo-Ula (博格多山), were then peacefully settled.

In the following winter (A.D. 126-7) Pan Yung put into the field the forces of all the states whose allegiance had been gained, and made a direct attack upon the king of the Hsiung-nu tribe that occupied the Lake Barkol region (king Hu-yen 呼衍王). The king fled, and more than twenty thousand of his men surrendered. Amongst the captives was a cousin of the Shan-yü (單于) of the Hsiung-nu; in order to make friendly relations between Chū-shih and the Hsiung-nu impossible for the future, Pan Yung caused the new king of Farther Chū-shih to slay the cousin of the Shan-yü with his own hand. The Shan-yü of the Northern Hsiung-nu (北單于) then attacked Farther Chū-shih with a force of ten thousand men, and penetrated some distance into the territory. Pan Yung sent a relieving force, and the Shan-yü was put to flight.

The defeat of the Hsiung-nu was decisive, and the defeated king from Lake Barkol (Hu-yen 呼衍王) found it advisable to move his residence to another part. The Chū-shih region was now freed from all vestiges of the Hsiung-nu.

There remained, however, the state of Yen-ch'i (焉耆 Qarashahr), that had not yet submitted to the Chinese. Pan Yung therefore turned his attention to this state the next year (A.D. 127). He requested the Emperor for reinforcements, and the Emperor ordered the Governor of Tun-huang, Chang Lang (張朗), to proceed to his assistance with three thousand men collected from the four commands (河西四郡) that lay behind the westward extension of the Great Wall. Pan Yung himself also collected an immense force—forty thousand men—from all the subject states. He divided his forces into two parts, one under Chang Lang to attack by the northern route, the other under himself to attack by the southern. The two divisions were to meet before Yen-ch'i at a given time. Chang Lang, however, was suffering under the disgrace of some past fault, for which he wished to atone; he therefore arrived before the appointed time, attacked and received the submission of Yen-ch'i before Pan Yung arrived. He received the whole credit for the enterprise, and was released from his disgrace; Pan Yung, however, was held guilty of arriving late, was recalled and imprisoned—this as the outcome of what should have been his crowning achievement. It seems, however, that he was afterwards released and died peacefully in the midst of his family.

This last, however, does not fit the account in the Former Han History, which gives the position of its neighbour West Tsü-mi 西且彌 as south of Manass (Wu-t'an-tzü-li 烏菴離國), and describes its position as east of the T'ien Shan in the Yü-ta valley (于大谷). I would venture to suggest the upper and lower parts of the Lesser Yulduz Valley as possible positions for East and West Tsü-mi respectively, the more so as the Later Han Dynasty describes the people of East Tsü-mi as being nomadic.

¹⁸ The Six States of Chū-shih are: Nearer Chū-shih (Turfan), Farther Chū-shih (Dsimsa, 60 li west of Ku Ch'eng-tzu), Pei-lu (卑陸國, the present Fu-k'ang and Fou-yüan districts 阜康縣, 孚遠縣, just west of Ku Ch'eng-tzu), P'u-lei (蒲類國 according to Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 209 in the Later Han Dynasty not the Barkol-Hami region, but at Urumchi), I-chih (移支 the Lake Barkol region, in the old P'u-lei territory, Chavannes *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 211), and East Tsü-mi (東且彌 see Note 17).

With the fall of Yen-ch'i, seventeen other states of the Tarim Basin, including distant Kashgar (疏勒), Yarkand (莎車), and Khoten (于寔), came to offer submission. The whole of the Tarim Basin was thus recovered. But the Wu-sun of the Ili Valley, and the states beyond the Pamirs broke off all relations with China.

The final step in the consolidation of Chinese power was taken in A.D. 131, when the Emperor Shun (順帝) ordered the re-establishment of the military colony at I-wu (伊吾 Hami), which had been established twice before; by the Emperor Ming in A.D. 73, and by the ill-fated Su Pan (索班) in A.D. 119, but each time without lasting effect. Thus once again the fertile base from which the Hsiung-nu had made their raids upon China, and from which they had controlled the states of the Tarim Basin, was in the hands of the Chinese.

IV. A HUNDRED YEARS OF DECLINE (A.D. 132 to the end of the dynasty).

"From the Yang-chia period (陽嘉 A.D. 132-4)," says the Later Han History, "the Imperial power gradually declined; the various states became arrogant and unrestrained and oppressed and attacked one another in turn."¹⁹

In the eastern end of the region there was continuous trouble with the Hsiung-nu, who ravaged at one time Farther Chü-shih, at another Hami. Large Chinese forces sent against them met with varying success. In A.D. 153 the king of Farther Chü-shih revolted against the Chinese, and only with difficulty was recalled to his loyalty.

At the western end of the Tarim Basin, trouble broke out in Khoten in A.D. 151, which resulted in the slaying of the Chinese ch'ang-shih (長史) the next year, and the general intractability of Khoten.

In A.D. 168 dynastic troubles arose in Kashgar, and a large Chinese force sent from the various states in A.D. 170 was unable to reduce them; thenceforth the rival kings of Kashgar killed one another in turn, without the Chinese being able to prevent them.

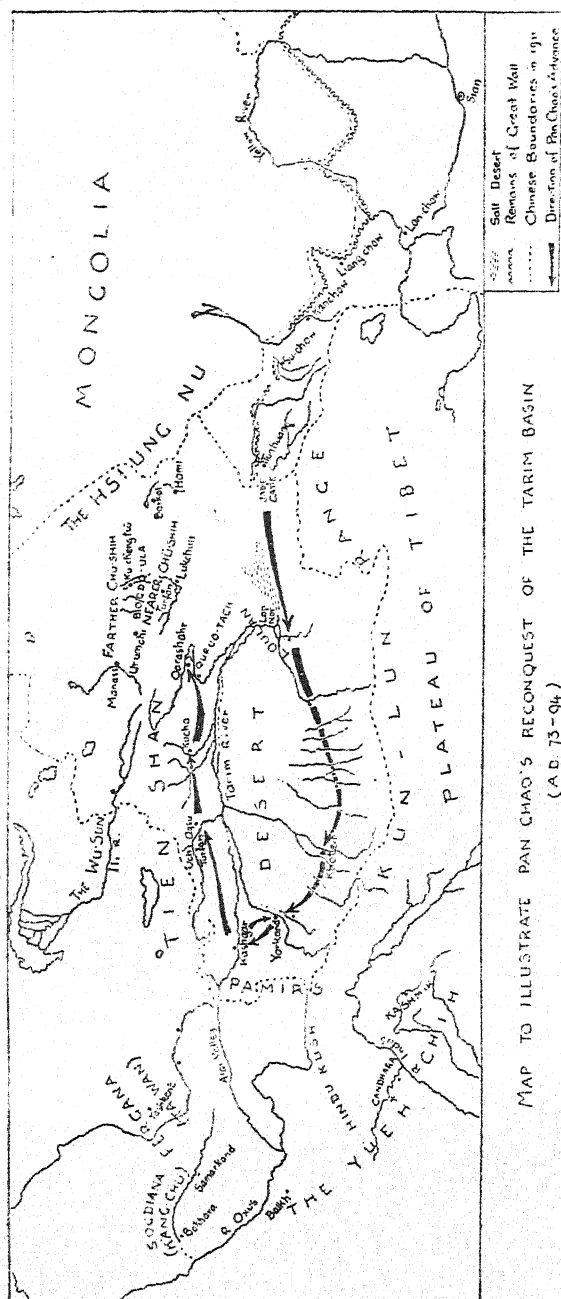
This is the last incident in the Western Regions described in those parts of the Later Han History under review. The Emperor Ling (靈帝) died in A.D. 189, and "after his death," says the Later Han History,²⁰ "the Empire was in great disorder." It is natural to suppose that Chinese authority in the Western Regions gradually ceased to exist.

Meantime the Yüeh Chih beyond the Pamirs had developed their great Empire with its centre at Gandhara (健馱羅) on the lower Kabul River. They ruled over Afghanistan, northern India and Kashmir, and at this time, according to Sir Aural Stein, they dominated the Tarim Basin as well, where their script, Karosthi, became the official script of the region, as far as the borders of China.

¹⁹ Bk. 118, "The Western Regions", p. 5 r.

²⁰ Bk. 119. "The Southern Hsiung-nu" p. 23 v.

AUTHORITIES:—*The Later Han History*, by Fan Yeh, A.D. 445; Book 118, "The Western Regions"; Book 77, "Biography of Pan Ch'ao and Pan Yung". (後漢書, 西域傳, 班超傳, 班勇傳).



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE PAN CHAO'S RECONQUEST OF THE TARIM BASIN
(AD 73-94)

SANG HUNG-YANG (143-80 B.C.)

ECONOMIST OF THE EARLY HAN¹

Sang Hung-yang 桑弘羊 was a well-known economist of the Han dynasty. His economic thought and policy directly contributed toward the success of Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 in developing frontier territory and indirectly did away with the phenomenon of private capitalism as existing in the Western Han dynasty. The two main points of his economic policy are "Equable Marketing" and "Balancing Standard". This policy was held to be beneficial not only to the Government but also to society and the livelihood of the people. Like Marx and Owen, Sang Hung-yang may also be considered as a pioneer of socialism. It is a pity that modern Chinese scholars, while discussing foreign socialism, forget their own great economist. Hereunder is the biography of Sang Hung-yang and an account of his economic policy:

(1) BIOGRAPHY.

Sang Hung-yang was the son of a merchant of Loyang. Born in the third year of Hou Yuan of Han Ching Ti 漢景帝後元三年 (143 B.C.), he died in the first year of Yuan Feng of Han Chao Ti 漢昭帝元鳳元年 (80 B.C.) at the age of 62.

Since he came from a merchant family, he had wide experience in accounting and finance. In the sixth year of Yuan Kuang of Han Wu Ti 漢武帝元光六年, when thirteen years old, he was appointed a Shih Chung 侍中, in charge of accounting affairs. At that time, Han Wu Ti was endeavoring to introduce a system of government monopoly over salt and iron and appointed Tung-Kuo Hsien-Yang 東郭咸陽, a great salt merchant of the Ch'i State, and K'ung Chin 孔僅, a great iron merchant of Nanyang 南陽,² as Ta Nung Ch'êng 大農丞 (Agricultural officers) and concurrently the Supervisors of Salt and Iron Affairs. In the sixth year of Yuan Shou 元狩六年 K'ung Chin was promoted to the post of Ta Ssu Nung 大司農 and

¹ Translated by S. C. Ch'en from *Lives of Chinese Great Men*, Association Press of China, Shanghai, Vol. II.

² Nanyangfu of Honan province and Hsingyangfu of Hupeh province.

Sang Hung-yang succeeded K'ung Chin as Ta Nung Ch'êng, concurrently in charge of accounting and financial affairs. In the second year of Yuan Ting 元鼎二年, seeing that commodities in various places, on account of the inconvenience of communications and of difficulties in transportation, were dear in one place and cheap in another to the detriment of the people's livelihood, Sang Hung-yang began to introduce the policy of "Equable Marketing" by buying goods in one place at the cheapest possible price, transporting them to the place where such goods were needed and selling them there at a moderate price. The Government could thus obtain some profits to cover the transportation costs.

In the first year of Yuan Feng 元封 (110 B.C.), Sang Hung-yang was appointed Chih Su Tu Wei (officer in charge of grain) 治粟都尉 and concurrently Ta Nung Ch'êng. He also took charge of the iron and salt affairs of the whole country, in place of K'ung Chin 孔僅. In the meantime, officials in various places competed with each other so keenly in transporting goods for sale that selling prices dropped to a great extent. The profits gained by the Government were too slight to cover the transportation costs. As a remedy, several tens of officers called Ta Nung Pu Ch'êng 大農部丞 were appointed to take charge of goods transportation in the various military commanderies and states 郡國. In addition, "Equable Marketing" Officers for Salt and Iron were appointed in various *hsien*, and Officers of "Selling Price Standardization" in the capital of the country. The officers of labour were instructed to make carts and other means for transportation purposes. The officers of agriculture bought up all the goods in the country at the time when their prices were not high and sold them at such time as they were high. Thus rich and powerful merchants did not have chances to monopolize goods, and could not obtain their former profits. The selling prices of goods in various places were neither too high nor too low, with the result that the common people could enjoy a comfortable livelihood. So far as the Government was concerned, a handsome income was realized therefrom to enrich the national treasury. Consequently, after the first year of Yuan Feng of Han Wu Ti 漢武帝元封元年 though the national expenditure greatly increased, it was due to the introduction of "Equable Marketing" that taxes were still further reduced.

Sang Hung-yang proposed to Han Wu Ti that officials could obtain good posts by sending in grain, while criminals might be exempted from punishment likewise by sending in grain. As a result, grain kept in the Government storehouses in Shantung increased by 6,000,000 piculs every year, and the country became very rich without increasing tax levies on the people. In view of the fact that Sang Hung-yang was so able and so versed in economics, Han Wu Ti conferred upon him the very honourable title of "Tso Shu Chang" 左庶長 and presented him with two hundred-weight of gold by way of encouragement.

However beneficial the policy of Sang Hung-yang was to the country, the older scholars universally attacked him and considered his policy as against the Sage's doctrine that the word "profit" is not worth discussion. Meanwhile a drought occurred. Han Wu Ti

asked his officials to pray for rain. Taking this opportunity, an official named Pu Shih 卜式 proposed to Wu Ti that Sang Hung-yang, as he had done something against the wishes of Heaven by ordering the officials to sell goods and to compete for profit with the people, be cooked alive in order to get rain from heaven. However, Han Wu Ti, being a wise king, did not accept the proposal of Pu Shih!

In the first year of T'ai Ch'u 太初元年, Han Wu Ti appointed Sang Hung-yang concurrently as Ta Ssü Nung 大司農 and put great confidence in him. He now had power enough to put into force his economic policy. It was in the third year of T'ien Han 天漢三年 (98 B.C.) that he enforced the government monopoly of wine, thus greatly increasing the receipts of the national treasury. In the following year, for some reason he was degraded to the post of Shou Su Tu Wei 搜粟都尉 ("grain-finding officer"). When Han Wu Ti was seriously ill in the second year of Hou Yuan 後元二年, he appointed Sang Hung-yang as Yü-Shih-T'ai-Fu 御史大夫; and in a will left by him, he entrusted Sang Hung-yang with the heavy responsibility of helping his son, together with Ho Kuang 霍光, Ch'in Jih-shan 金日磾 and Shang Kuan-chieh 上官桀. After the death of Han Wu Ti, Han Chao Ti came to the throne with Ho Kuang as Premier.

In the sixth year of Shih Yuan 始元六年, Tu Yen-nien 杜延年 and others were of the opinion that, though the enforcement of the official monopolies of iron, salt and wine and of the "Equable Marketing" policy could enrich the national treasury, yet, owing to large-scale warfare and the miserable condition of the common people, it produced no substantial benefits. So Ho Kuang summoned the scholars and enquired about the condition of the people. The scholars, long not satisfied with the economic policy of Sang Hung-yang, now universally favored the immediate abolition of the "Equable Marketing" system and the official monopoly of salt and wine, in order to please Ho Kuang and Tu Yen-nien. In compliance with the request of Tu Yen-nien, Ho Kuang promised their abolition. However, Sang Hung-yang raised objection on the ground that all the national expenditures were covered by the income realized from the "Equable Marketing" system and the official monopoly of salt and wine. At last, as an alternative, a joint petition was submitted by him and the Premier Chü Ch'ien-ch'iu 車千秋 to Han Chao Ti 漢昭帝 expressing their concurrence in the abolition of the official monopoly of wine only.

Considering that their original plan failed to be crowned with success, Tu Yen-nien and others instigated the scholars to attack Sang Hung-yang. Discussions and arguments thereupon arose. Sang Hung-yang blamed the scholars for talking more and acting less and for adhering to impractical theories. Later, Huan K'uan 桓寬 compiled the opinions, discussions and arguments in the form of a book entitled "Discourses on Salt and Iron" 鹽鐵論. Though the results of the discussions and arguments were not in favor of the scholars, yet the Premier Chü Ch'ien-ch'iu, who did not like to incur the ill-feeling of Ho Kuang and Tu Yen-nien, changed his attitude and kept silence later on, leaving Sang Hung-yang alone to argue with his opponents.

In September of the next year (first year of Yuan Feng 元鳳) the eldest princess of O Yeh 鄂邑長公主, the prince of the Yen State named Tan 燕王旦 and Shang Kuan-chieh 上官桀 attempted to rise in rebellion. However secret the plot was, it was discovered by Tu Yen-nien, who involved Sang Hung-yang in the case by way of revenge. Sang Hung-yang was therefore sentenced to capital punishment and executed with the Prince of Yen. Succeeding generations have held that Tu Yen-nien and others should be considered as responsible for the death of Sang Hung-yang. For instance, when Sang Ch'ien 桑遷, son of Sang Hung-yang and Chü Ch'ien-ch'iu were arrested and put in prison, Tu Yen-nien effected the release of the latter and killed the former. It is therefore evident that what was done by Tu Yen-nien savored of revenge.

(2) THE SOURCE OF THE ECONOMIC THOUGHT OF SANG HUNG-YANG:

The economic policy of Sang Hung-yang was not devised by himself. It can be traced in the older literary works of the Chou and Ch'in dynasties. For instance, in the *Chiu Chang Suan Shu* 九章算術 it is said that by means of "Equable Marketing" goods can be sent to distant and near places at the cheapest cost; and in the passage "Ta Chü" of the *Chou Shu* 周書大聚篇 it is said that market prices always remain unchanged, and that goods in various places are exchanged for the purpose of meeting requirements:—all these are the sources of the "Equable Marketing" policy of Sang Hung-yang. Further, according to the "Kuo Hsueh" 國蓄篇 (national deposit) section of the *Kuan Tzū*, everything in the world is standardized at all times. It says: "The five cereals are the principal natural commodities. If cereals are cheap, all other things must be dear and *vice versa*. So it is the duty of the emperor to standardize the price of cereals." It also says: "The more things are, the cheaper their price; the more they are prized, the more they become. The emperor, realizing this principle, controls goods on the basis of sufficiency and insufficiency. If grain is cheap, the Government pays money in exchange for it; if cloths are cheap, the Government also pays money in exchange for them. Thus everything is put in harmony, to the benefit of the emperor." It further says: "As the harvest is poor or good, the price of grain is different at different times. Should the emperor not assume the responsibility of distributing goods, the rich merchants would take advantage of the opportunity to make profits. The result would be that while much grain is kept in storehouses, a great number of people are suffering from hunger. Therefore the wise emperor should know how to collect goods at the time of abundance and how to distribute goods at the time of need. Thus arises the method of standardization, and on the other hand, the rich and avaricious merchants would be deprived of chances to make profits." These passages may be considered as the sources of the "Balancing Standard" policy of Sang Hung-yang. It is to be recalled that in the time of the Warring States, a man named Li K'uei of the Wei State 魏李悝 devised a method of standardizing grain alone instead of goods of all kinds as Sang Hung-yang was now attempting.

(3) THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF SANG HUNG-YANG.

The economic policy of Sang Hung-yang may be divided chiefly into two aspects.

(a) *Equable Marketing*.—According to the policy of “Equable Marketing”, all tribute, whether money or goods, offered by the people in the various commanderies and states, should be converted into the cheapest and the most abundant products, which the state would transport for sale to places where the prices of such products are high. Thus the Government can make great profits without requiring capital, and the national treasury is enriched without increasing taxes. Excerpts from “Discourses on Salt and Iron” tell the advantages of “Equable Marketing” as in the following:

(I) “The scarlet lacquer and pennant feathers of Lung (Kansu) and Shu (Szechuan); the leather goods, bone and ivory of Ching (Hupeh) and Yang (Yangchow); the cedars, lindera, and bamboo rods of Chiang-nan; the fish, salt, rugs, and furs of Yen and Ch’i (Hopei and Shantung); the lustrine yarn, linen, and hemp-cloth of Yen and Yü:—all these are necessary commodities to maintain our lives and provide for our death. But we depend upon the merchants for their distribution and on the artisans for giving them their finished forms. This is why the Sages availed them of boats and bridges to negotiate rivers and gulleys, and domesticated cattle and horses for travel over mountains and plateaux. Thus by penetrating to distant lands and exploring remote places, they were able to exchange all goods to the benefit of the people. Hence His Late Majesty (*i.e.* Han Wu Ti) established officers in control of iron to meet the farmers’ needs and provided equable marketing to make sufficient the people’s wealth. Thus, the salt and iron monopoly and the equable marketing supported by the myriad people and looked to as the source of supply, cannot conveniently be abolished.”³

(II) “According to the theory of the Five Elements, the East pertains to Wood, but in Tan Chang we have mountains containing gold and copper. The South pertains to Fire, but in Chiao Chih we have rivers as big as the ocean. The West pertains to Metal, but in Shu and Lung we find famous forests of timber. The North pertains to Water, but in Yü Tu we find the land of heaped up sand. This is how Heaven and Earth compensate scarcity with abundance and facilitate the circulation of all goods. Now the supply of bamboo in Wu and Yüeh, and the timber in Sui and T’ang is more than can be used while in Ts’ao, Wei, Liang and Sung they are forced to use coffins over again for the dead. The fish of the regions of the great river and the lakes and the globe fish of Lai and Huang are too many for local consumption, while in Tsou, Lu, Chou and Han they have only vegetable fare. The wealth of nature is not deficient, and the treasures of the mountains and the seas are indeed rich, and yet the people still remain necessitous and the available wealth is not

³ Translation from *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, p. 8, E. M. Gale translator, E. J. Brill, Ltd., Leyden, 1931.

adequate. The reason is that surplus and scarcity have not been adjusted and the wealth of the world has not been circulated."⁴

(III) "People who live in the mountains and marshes, or on moors and sterile uplands, depend upon the effective circulation of goods to satisfy their wants. Thus it would not be only those who have abundance that have a surplus and only those who have little that would starve. If everybody stays where he lives and consumes his own food, then oranges and pumaloes would not be sold, Ch'ü Lu salt would not appear, rugs and carpets would not be marketed and the timber of Wu and T'ang would not be used."⁵

(IV) "Now the treasures of the mountains and marshes and the reserves of the equable marketing system are means of holding the balance of natural wealth and controlling the principalities. Ju Han gold and other insignificant articles of tribute are means of inveigling foreign countries and snaring the treasures of the Ch'iang and the Hu. Thus a piece of Chinese plain silk can be exchanged with the Hsiung Nu for articles worth several pieces of gold and thereby reduce the resources of our enemy. Mules, donkeys and camels enter the frontier in unbroken lines; horses, dapples and bays and prancing mounts, come into our possession. The furs of sables, marmots, foxes and badgers, colored rugs and decorated carpets fill the Imperial treasury, while jade and auspicious stones, corals and crystals, become national treasures. That is to say, foreign products keep flowing in, while our wealth is not dissipated. Novelties flowing in, the government has plenty. National wealth not being dispersed abroad, the people enjoy abundance."⁶

From these four passages quoted above, we see that "Equable Marketing" is able not only to set all domestic goods in circulation but also to develop foreign trade, thus greatly enriching the national treasury. Sang Hung-yang resorted to the method of nationalizing commerce for making his country strong in ancient times. Now it is pitiable that Japan and the Western countries have used this method to oppress China.

(b) *Balancing Standard*.—According to the policy of "Balancing Standard", the Government conducts an investigation into all the goods throughout the country and then sets up a balancing price on the basis of fairness. Thus what has been said in the *Records of an Historian*, *Shih Chi* (史記)—"every official tries to struggle to sell his goods with the result that though a great many goods may have been sold the profits realized from selling these goods are not able to cover the transportation costs"—can be avoided. As a result of introducing the "Balancing Standard" policy, the rich merchants are deprived of the possibility of monopolizing goods. It is therefore obvious that the policy of "Balancing Standard" serves not only to enrich the national treasury but also to do away with the monopoly

⁴ Ibid. pp. 20-21.

⁵ Ibid. p. 23.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 14-15.

system of the capitalists. From the "Discourses on Salt and Iron" several passages on the advantages of "Balancing Standard" are also quoted in the following:

(I) "The true King should stopper Nature's wealth, restrict and regulate tax-barriers and markets; in his hand lies the power of adjusting the balance of trade and in his keeping is the right utilization of seasons; for through his control of the ratio of production he can curb the people. In years of abundance with harvest tall, he stores and bins to provide for times of scarcity and want; in evil years of dearth he circulates moneys and goods and tempers the flow of surplus to meet the deficiency."⁷

(II) "With the establishment of equilibrium in prices, the people are not suspicious. When the magistrates set up standard weights and measures, the people obtain what they desire. Even a lad only five feet tall may be sent to the market and no one would cheat him. If now the monopolies be removed, then aggressive persons would control the use and engross the profits. They would dominate the market; prices would be raised or lowered at a word; there would be no stability in prices, dear or cheap. These people would be sitting firmly and would grow more aggressive. This would serve to nourish the powerful and depress the weak, and the nation's wealth would be hoarded by thieves."⁸

(III) "The fish in the pond are agitated when others appear in the water. With powerful recalcitrants among the nation, the common people's livelihood declines. Thus, there cannot be luxuriant herbage beneath a flourishing forest. Nor can grain sprout prettily between great clumps of earth. The principle of governing a country consists in removing the noxious and hoeing out the unruly. Only then will the people enjoy equal treatment, and find satisfaction under their own roofs. Justice Chang codified the laws and statutes; published them to give a common standard to the Empire; executed the evil and the crafty, and exterminated those fellows who organized combines. As a consequence, the strong could not take advantage of the weak, and the many could not ill-treat the few. All the officers have busied themselves with increasing state revenues. They take from those who have, to aid the needy, in the interest of equality among the Black-Haired People. Consequently, in spite of the fact that our armies made expeditions east and west, expenditures were well provided for without increasing the levies and taxes."⁹

From the passages quoted above, we see that the policy of the "Balancing Standard" is advantageous to both the common people and the nation, but not to the rich and avaricious merchants. In other words, the policy is of a socialistic nature—advantageous to the weak and disadvantageous to the strong.

⁷ Gale, op. cit. p. 12.

⁸ Ibid. p. 32.

⁹ Ibid. pp. 87-88.

As mentioned in the "Shih Hsüo Chih" (食貨志) section of the *Han Shu* 漢書, the two policies—Equable Marketing and Balancing Standard—were never changed in the five periods of Hsüan Ti 宣帝, Yuan Ti 元帝, Ch'eng Ti 成帝, Ai Ti 哀帝 and P'ing Ti 平帝 of the Han dynasty. In the capital at Chang-an 長安 there were Tung Shih Ling 東市令 and Hsi Shih Ling 西市令. In the cities of Loyang 洛陽, Hantan 邯鄲, Lintze 臨淄, Wan 宛 and Ch'êngtu 咸陽 there were mayors, whose duty it was to take charge of the "Equable Marketing" and "Balancing Standard" systems. It was in the period of Wang Mang 王莽 that the two policies were still continued with procedure slightly modified, which however, produced the same good results.

(4) SUBSIDIARY POLICIES ADOPTED BY SANG HUNG-YANG.

That the two economic policies mentioned above could remain un-destroyed by the rich merchants was purely through the adoption of the following three subsidiary policies.

(a) *Imposition of Taxes on Merchants.*—The taxes imposed by Sang Hung-yang on the merchants were of two kinds, *i.e.* (1) Min Ch'ien Shui 緡錢稅 and (2) Ch'e Ch'uan Shui 車船稅. In consequence of the imposition of the two taxes, the cost of goods became high. The profits gained by the merchants were therefore limited; and the merchants could not but increase selling prices, lest they should lose money. On the other hand, national trade, as a result of the introduction of "Equable Marketing", was exempted from taxes, and the selling prices of the goods sold by the Government were naturally low. In addition, the merchants were prohibited from buying agricultural lands, disobeying which the fields bought were to be forfeited. Thus rich merchants were able to maintain their *status quo* only. It was beyond their power to destroy the national trade.

(b) *Monopoly.*—At the time of Sang Hung-yang, the three commodities—salt, iron and wine—were government monopolies, having nothing to do with the common merchants. The government monopolies of salt and iron were introduced by Tung-Kuo Hsien-Yang 東郭咸陽 and K'ung Chin 孔僅 respectively in the sixth year of Yuan Kuang 元光六年 (129 B.C.). The government monopoly of wine was introduced by Sang Hung-yang in the third year of T'ien Han 天漢三年 (98 B.C.), and abolished in the sixth year of Shih Yuan 始元六年 of Han Chao Ti 漢昭帝 at the request of Sang Hung-yang himself; it subsequently revived in the period of Wang Mang. The government had the three commodities—salt, iron and wine—under its complete control and used the profits derived therefrom to finance the policies of "Equable Marketing" and "Balancing Standard"—of course without competition from private merchants, no matter how rich they might be. The profits thus realized were sufficient to cover all military expenses and a large part of other expenditures in the time of Han Wu Ti.

(c) *Appointment of Rich People as Officials.*—When Han Wên Ti 漢文帝 came to the throne, Ch'ao T'so 晁錯 proposed that the people might offer grain to the Government in exchange for titles of

honour and that criminals might offer grain to the Government to obtain exemption from punishment. He, however, did not propose the buying and selling of official posts. It was after the sixth year of Yuan Shuo of Han Wu Ti 漢武帝元朔六年 that the selling of official posts began to come into existence. Since Tung-Kuo Hsien-Yang and K'ung Chin were appointed Ta Nung Ch'êng 大農丞 and concurrently Supervisors of Salt and Iron Affairs, a great number of offices of the salt and iron administration were established in various places of this country. In order to deal with official matters in a smooth and efficient way, the Government appointed capitalists who had been trading in salt and iron as officers.

When Sang Hung-yang held the post of Ta Nung Ch'êng, he introduced the policy of "Equable Marketing" and began to permit men to offer grain in exchange for official posts with compensations amounting to 600 piculs 六百石. He also proposed the appointment of "Standardization" officers at the capital of the country and permitted men to offer grain in exchange for such posts. These men who offered grain in exchange for official posts were skillful merchants. As a matter of fact, Sang Hung-yang employed merchants as officers not only for the purpose of getting grain but also for the purpose of securing experts to run official business efficiently. If the scholars were appointed to fill the posts, not only could they not perform their duties as satisfactorily as expected, but they also were not in sympathy with the policies on grounds of morality. This is the reason why Sang Hung-yang did not employ scholars as officers, all of whom hated him exceedingly and at last put him to death. At the same time, the official named Pu Shih 卜式, who when a boy, was a shepherd, now also opposed the policy of Sang Hung-yang. It therefore goes without saying that the scholars were not satisfied with these policies. Besides getting grain and acquiring suitable men to fill office, the employment of rich merchants as officers however, also served to change private monopoly into government monopoly—a fundamental means of doing away with opposing forces.

With the help of the three subsidiary policies, the "Equable Marketing" and "Balancing Standard" systems could be put into execution without difficulty and hindrance. As compared with the "national capitalism" originated by Bismarck-Schönhausen, the former Premier of Germany, the nationalized trade system as introduced by Sang Hung-yang was the better and Bismarck-Schönhausen would realize his own inferiority in knowledge.

(5) THE ADVANTAGES OF SANG HUNG-YANG'S ECONOMIC POLICIES TO COUNTRY AND SOCIETY.

(a) *Advantages to Country.*—The chief object of Sang Hung-yang's economic policy was to enrich the national treasury. As in the period of Han Wu Ti, expeditions were often made with the result that military expenditure on a large scale was incurred, Sang Hung-yang paid special attention to the raising of funds to cover such expenses. In "The Basic Argument" and "Territorial Expansion" of the "Discourses on Salt and Iron" appear his discussions on military expedition expenses. In order to support his argument

against the opinions of the scholars, he said: "The reason why it is difficult to abolish the salt and iron administration is that military expenses are required to defend the frontier places of the country from foreign invasion. If there were no foreign invasion in the frontier places, not only the equitable marketing of salt and iron but the levies and taxes of all kinds should also be abolished". From this it will be seen that Sang Hung-yang adopted an economic policy in order to cope with the financial necessity of the time. His idea was the same as that of the Chinese Nationalist Government which has recently ordered the increase of levies and taxes.

Sang Hung-yang held the office of Shih Chung 侍中 for fifteen years (from the sixth year of Yuan Kuang 元光六年 to the second year of Yuan Ting 元鼎二年); of Ta Nung Ch'êng 大農丞 for five years (from the second year of Yuan Ting to the first year of Yuan Fêng 元封元年); of Ta Ssü Nung 大司農 for fourteen years (from the first year of Yuan Fêng to the fourth year of T'ien Han 天漢四年). During these thirty-four years Han Wu Ti made incessant military expeditions against the Hsiung Nu 匈奴, Western and Southern Barbarians 西南夷, Liangyueh 兩越, Korea 朝鮮 etc. The territory of China was therefore doubled as compared with the time of Han Kao Ti, Han Hui Ti, Han Wên Ti and Han Ching Ti. The military expenses thus incurred were of course extraordinarily large; but it was through the efforts of Sang Hung-yang that the national treasury was rich enough to cover the heavy military expenses without increasing levies and taxes.

(b) *Advantages to Society.*—What Sang Hung-yang considered of great importance was how to get rid of "encroachment." Frankly speaking, his aim was to do away with capitalists, so as to prevent the rich from becoming richer and the poor from becoming poorer. He did not favor a one-sided development in society. He was of the opinion that (1) all the profitable business in the *Chün* and *Kuo* 郡國 should be nationalized, so that the princes and officials might not be rich enough to create trouble, and (2) the prices of goods should be equalized so that everybody might maintain his livelihood. In the passages "Back to Ancient Truths", "Hindrance to Farming" and "Discordant Currencies" of the "Discourses on Salt and Iron"¹⁰ detailed and accurate accounts thereof can be found.

It is to be recalled in this connection that since the Ch'in dynasty, society in China had been thrown into disorder. The rich and strong encroached upon the poor and weak; and the latter were therefore deprived of their livelihood. In the Economic Section 食貨志 of the *Han Shu* 漢書 it is said that the rich people had amassed great wealth, while the poor subsisted upon the poorest food; and that the strong princes had occupied large tracts of land, while the weak princes had lost their territory. As a consequence, the statesmen in the Han dynasty thought it important to do away with "encroachment." Han Kao-tsu 漢高祖 increased levies and taxes as a means of preventing merchants from excessive aggrandisement. It was, however, in the period of Han Hui Ti 漢惠帝 and Queen-Dowager Lü 呂后 that the embargo laid upon the merchants was relaxed.

¹⁰ Cf. Gale, loc. cit.

Matters became worse so that Han Wên Ti permitted the people to mint money, to found iron, and to boil salt freely. Therefore, the Prince of Wu had full control over the seas; and a man named Teng Tung 鄧通 had Hsi Shan 西山 as his private property. Teng Tung used the bronze abounding in Hsi Shan for minting money which was in circulation throughout China. This indulgence on the part of Han Wên Ti resulted in the future rising in revolt of the Seven States—to the detriment of the livelihood of the people and the peace and order of society. The great scholars such as Ssü-Ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 and Tung-Chung Shu 董仲舒 were not satisfied with this unhappy phenomenon and expressed their respective opinions in the treatises "P'ing Chün Shu" 平準書 and "Shih Hsüo Chih" 食貨志. When Sang Hung-yang became Ta Nung Ch'êng 大農丞, he adopted the policy of state interference, with the resultant disappearance of "encroachment"—to the benefit of both the people and society.

(6) COMMENTS ON THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF SANG HUNG-YANG.

As a matter of fact, it may be said that the economic policy of Sang Hung-yang—the equitable marketing and the balancing standard—is a kind of nationalized trade system. It is much better than the "nationalism" advocated by Bismarck-Schönhausen; and also quite different from modern "communism." According to the economic policy of Sang Hung-yang, so far as industry is concerned, only iron should be considered a government monopoly, the remaining kinds of industry to be left to the disposal of the people. As regards commerce, the Government should not completely monopolize it but keep a close watch over it in order to avoid merchants' monopoly. Salt, iron and wine are considered government monopolies and the people are prevented from dealing in them. The people may share in other kinds of trade, but selling prices should be fixed by the Government. This is beneficial to the common people as a whole but not to rich and avaricious merchants. Sang Hung-yang is indeed the greatest economist not only in the Han dynasty but also in the economic history of China. It is regrettable that the so-called scholars who obstinately adhered to their own ideas, put Sang Hung-yang to death and, moreover, used every means entirely to destroy his policy. The responsibility for the weakness of China at the present time lies here. Cursed be the foolish scholars, I should say!

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Wang An Shih 王安石 a Chinese Statesman and Educationalist of the Sung Dynasty (Vol. I). By H. R. Williamson, M.A., D.LIT., London: Arthur Probsthain, 1935. (Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai) X+388 pages. £1 4s. 0d.

Dr. Williamson has produced in this first volume an invaluable contribution to the history of political administration and economic thought in China. Little less credit is surely due to Mr. Arthur Probsthain whose boundless enthusiasm and resourcefulness have made possible the publication of this as well as so many other substantial works relating to China. In English at least we have had little more than Dr. J. C. Ferguson's two pioneering papers on the Sung socialist-statesman and the relation of his policies to the ensuing Northern Sung debacle (J.N.C.B.R.A.S. vols. XXXV and LVIII; also LV). Waley's *Notes on Chinese Literature* (confessedly based on the orthodox *Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu Ts'ung Mu*, the K'ang Hsi era literary catalogue) mentions An-shih some seven times, but generally coupled with an epithet of opprobrium. During the preparation, or since the publication of Dr. Williamson's first volume, several Chinese scholars have produced brief essays (Dr. Hu Shih not long ago, and Lin Yu, T. K. Chuan, and others in the *China Critic*¹). Each of these have sought to restore to national esteem China's "greatest thinker since Mencius"; while General Chiang Kai-shek's expression of admiration for the reformer (whose political and economic doctrines have become a part of the present training curriculum for officials) bids fair to elevate "the Headstrong Minister" 拗相公 to the rank of an ancient sage.

As to studies in languages other than English dealing with Wang An-shih, mention may be made of Tcheou Houan's *Le Prêt sur récolte institué en Chine au XI^e siècle par le ministre Wang-ngan-che* (Paris, 1930). Professor O. Franke of the University of Berlin has perhaps made the most thorough investigations into the history of experiments in state-socialism in China.² Aside from C. W. Allan's unimportant essay on Wang in *Makers of Cathay*, Ferguson's and Hu Shih's articles and Franke's translation, Williamson cites only Chinese authorities and sources, particularly Ts'ai Shang-hsiang 蔡上翔 who produced a critical biography of Wang An-shih in 1804 (王荊公年譜考略) and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's brilliant study published about thirty years ago. T. K. Chuan refers to a work

¹ The *China Critic*, Vol. X, No. 1, Shanghai 1935: "Wang An-shih and China Today", "Wang An-shih and His Time", "Wang An-shih's Reform Measures", and "Wang An-shih and His Critics".

² Cf. "Staatssozialistische Versuche im alten und mittelalterlichen China." *SB.* 1931 and "Der Bericht Wang Ngan-schis von 1058 über Reform des Beamtentums. Ein Beitrag zur Beurteilung des Reformators." *SB.* 1932. Walter de Gruyter u. Co. Berlin. Franke publishes the Chinese text of Wang's celebrated memorial with his German translation.

by Yang Hsi-ming 楊希閔年譜推論 evidently not known to Williamson. The series of highly partizan historical writings originating with Wang An-shih's great antagonist Ssü-ma Kuang 司馬光 are generously quoted from under the reference T'ung Chien which in footnote 2, p. 33 and again on p. 45 is explained as the "Tzū Chih T'ung Chien Hsü Pien" 資治通鑑續編. J. K. Shryock (J.A.O.S. Vol. 56, No. 1, p. 100) points out that this is not Chu Hsi's recension, as stated by Williamson, but a late Ming compilation based by the editor Ch'en Jen-hsi on the several earlier works each containing the words T'ung Chien in their titles and originating with Ssü-ma Kuang's 資治通鑑. Another work of similar nature is referred to in footnote on p. 136 as 通鑑輯覽. Necessarily the Sung Shih 宋史 the orthodox dynastic history, is drawn upon for much material, particularly the economics section (食貨志). Such of Wang An-shih's originally voluminous works as are still extant are generously translated (P. IX) and afford a convincing picture of the great Sung statesman's life and thought, contemporary with the Norman conquest of England.

Wang An-shih's career, as portrayed from such immediate sources, emphasized the need of a realistic and effective science of government in China. Despite the preoccupation therein of statesmen and philosophers throughout all recorded time, earlier Chinese political philosophy evolved only a theoretical, idealistic system based upon a body of pure tradition, the practices of the ancient kings, i.e. the two emperors and three kings Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang and Wên-Wu (the last two, founders of the Chou dynasty, being regarded as one). No exact body of municipal law, no specific legal concepts as under Roman procedure, grew up. The idea of certain inalienable personal rights seems not to have developed in Chinese political thinking.³ The interests of the state transcended that of the individual, thus making way in all times to the present for the extension of state interference in private affairs to an extreme degree.

Wang An-shih's early backgrounds are shown to have been wholly orthodox. His education made him one of the greatest scholars of the time. Indeed one of the persistent calumnies attached to him, that he never washed, arose it would appear from his habit of reading far into the night when a young man in office at Yangchow, and arising so late that he had barely time to get to his official duties. His father, who died at an early age, was an ideal administrator according to the record, a worthy progenitor of a son who later proved himself to be possessed of similar characteristics, only in greater and fuller measure. Yet it was one of Wang An-shih's favourite sayings that he was a follower of the ancient precedents, *not in detail, but in idea*. This happy formula enabled him to confound his orthodox Confucian enemies with their own weapons, the phraseology of the Classics from which he quoted with a scholar's freedom on all occasions. Frequently his citation of "ancient practices" was obviously little more than an artifice, to disarm his critics, and proved merely a locution for "common sense" or the "exigencies of the situation".

Living in the Northern Sung era between 1021 and 1086 this great thinker thus evolved theories of state socialism 800 years before Marx. He was intellectually versatile. Despite his heavy administrative responsibilities as a provincial, and later metropolitan official when he occupied the post of Grand Councillor under Shên Tsung (1068-1086), he produced a vast amount of literary work. But owing to the iconoclastic policy of his political opponents much of this was wantonly destroyed. He compiled a dictionary and wrote extensively on the

³ Cf. Works on Chinese political philosophy by Elbert Thomas and W. S. A. Pott. The so-called school of law 法家 had a brief period of ascendancy under the First Emperor of Ch'in, dealt with by J. J. L. Duyvendak in *The Book of Lord Shang*, and by Liang Chi-ch'ao.

interpretation of the classical literature of China, particularly on the *Chou Li* (周禮) under the title of New Interpretation of the Government System of Chow styled *Chou Kuan Hsin I*. The *Chou Li*, though now assigned to a much later date, Wang regarded as authentic and he based many of his administrative measures upon it. What purports to be a complete edition of his extant works consists now of eight volumes of poetry and sixteen of prose comprising his letters, inscriptions, essays, government memorials, etc. Extensive selections from his works have been published by the Commercial Press, Ltd., in the two anthologies *Ssu Pu Ts'ung K'an* 四部叢刊 and *Wan Yu Wen K'u* 萬有文庫.

In addition to the pettifogging attacks by his Confucian detractors based upon alleged negligence as to his personal appearance, Wang An-shih's sincerity has been held suspect. This is based partly on his reluctance to take the higher literary examinations for promotion to office and partly upon his reluctance to accept a position at Court when this was repeatedly offered him. In respect to the first, Williamson leaves no doubt that whether or not he had influential friends at Court, as Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修, he honestly won his *Chin Shih* degree for which he was unmistakably eligible. As to Wang's professed reluctance to take up a position at Court, Williamson accepts at face value his repeated asseverations that he could not afford, because of his family responsibilities, to reside in the Capital. "My object in entering upon official life was to provide the wherewithal to maintain my family", he wrote. His enemies claimed that he was adroitly enhancing his own value to the Court and would thus secure a higher post in time.

But when one regards that fundamental document in Wang's policies the *Wan Yen Shu*, the myriad character memorial which he submitted to the Emperor Jen Tsung in the year 1058, (上仁宗皇帝言事書) a profounder reason than that given is discernible. This was his opposition to selection of officials by the "recently devised" literary examinations, the writing of essays calling for "the recitation and memorizing of an enormous amount of literature". "This actually spoiled men so that they could not become capable administrators". "A man's capacity for government is best educed by specialization, and ruined by too great a variety of subjects to be studied". He continues his attack on the essay writers, "The present method of selecting officials is as follows:—If a man has a colossal memory, can repeat extensive portions of the classics, and has some skill at composition, he is termed specially brilliant or worthy, and chosen for the highest grades of State ministers". Little wonder then that Wang An-shih consistently refused to secure high office at the Capital by the prescribed route of the literary examination. Similarly the hostility is understandable which such views as this awakened among the scholar-officials such as Ssü-ma Kuang "the conservator who made eternal the duration of the Empire", founder of the opposition Yuan Yu party, Su Shih (Tung-p'o) poet and commentator, and others who had reached high political preferment through their facility with the ink brush.

The principles enunciated in the *Wan Yen Shu* were fundamental to the effective implementation of Wang An-shih's administrative innovations—the proper methods for instructing officials, for maintaining them on adequate compensation which would free them from temptation to corruption and mal-administration, the selection of officials of good character, and finally the appointment of suitable officials to appropriate duties. These human factors having been properly attended to, the carrying out of Wang's measures would have been practicable. Here indeed Wang was too far in advance of his times; his measures were doomed to failure for the lack of the right sort of official personnel.

The measures he successively introduced while in power between 1069 and his retirement in 1076 were: (1) The virtual nationalization of commerce in the Empire through the Economical Transport and Distribution Measure. This authorized government agents to buy goods (grain, perhaps also tea, salt, alum, etc.) in the cheapest market and as near the Capital as possible, and to sell goods in stock or in granaries. This measure finally merged into the later State Trade and Barter Measure 市易法, frankly a state trade monopoly, affecting all kinds of goods. (2) The Agricultural Loans Measure provided for state advances for the cultivation of the soil, "rural credits". (3) The Pao Chia Fa (保甲法) was a militia enrollment act calculated to reduce the importance of the standing army and provide arms and universal military training for the people. Subsidiary to this was a provision for quartering cavalry horses on the people. (4) Finally the Mu I Fa 募役法 or Public Services Act, which emancipated the masses from the corvée, Ch'ai I Fa 差役法, substituted a form of "income tax" in lieu of personal work on public constructions. "The people are hauled away for Government service", said Wang, "when they should have been at work on their fields, such service resulting in separation, hunger and death."

Wang An-shih's program, educed from his realistic experiences as a provincial administrator, was thus briefly "the idea of planning, of purposeful, intelligent control" over (the nation's) economic affairs. "He proposed to formulate definite guides to economic life" to replace the decadent notions of *laissez-faire* philosophy. His policies, being the implementation in fact of his "Myriad Word Memorial" (萬言書) of A.D. 1058, naturally developed a vision of opinion and an alignment of political parties—one group politically minded led paradoxically enough by the scholar-statesman-historian Ssü-ma Kuang, the other academic and non-political, economic planners by whom Wang An-shih surrounded himself. The latter group demanded official control over industry and commerce, ranging from the elimination of private monopolies to price fixing and regulation and disposal of goods surpluses, particularly foodstuffs, by governmental commissions and boards. These "collective economy" measures included "capital allocation" for production without profit (the State Trade and Barter Measure 市易法), the "third economy" of the New Deal jargon. No longer was reliance to be placed on individual initiative and ambition for self-expression and self-satisfaction "to supply the motive power for the nation's economy". The efficacy of the entire system must depend, however, upon the human element, the properly selected trained honest public functionary. Thus the economic policy of the great Sung statesman—and upon which despite his versatility as poet and classical commentator his fame rests—is actually capable of being expressed in the current ideology of the twentieth century.⁴

Wang An-shih's various administrative innovations which are traced in detail by Dr. Williamson cannot nevertheless be regarded as entirely original with the Sung statesman himself. The Chou Li, Kuan Chung 管仲 of the state of Ch'i 齊 (in the Kuan-tzu 管子 a late Chou compilation, although ascribed to the VIIth cent. B.C.), the Han statesman Sang Hung-yang,⁵ Wang Mang the Socialist emperor of the beginning of the Christian era,⁶ and Liu Yen of the T'ang are all shown to have advocated in part or in whole official measures of a similar nature. Moreover Wang An-shih's economic views are

⁴ For example see *Industrial Discipline and the Governmental Arts*. By Rexford G. Tugwell, Columbia University Press. Passim.

⁵ See biographical sketch "Sang Hung-yang, Economist of the Early Han", on p. 160 of this Volume.

⁶ See J.N.C.B.R.A.S., Vol. LIX, "Wang Mang, The Socialist Emperor of 19 Centuries Ago", by Hu Shih.

found to retain despite their alleged novelty much of stereotyped "Confucian" economic theory, reminiscent in thought and style of Chia I 賈誼, and the doctors of the old school in opposition to Sang Hung-yang in the famous Han times debate on the Salt and Iron Monopolies.⁷ Wang's important essay on "Current Extravagances" (p. 114 seq.) is illustrative of the conventionality of his thought and expression in this respect.

A comparison of Dr. Williamson's translations with the Chinese texts, particularly the *Wan Yen Shu*, indicate a few possible variants from the original. For example ls. 26-28, p. 61, should be a rhetorical question; the 2nd para. on the following page is a condensation of the Chinese texts as the similar paragraph of p. 75. Either an omission or transposition occurs in the last paragraph of p. 63, and an omission between paragraphs 2 and 3 on p. 78. These however—as the failure to observe the customary hyphenating of Chinese names as in Ou-yang Hsiu, Wang An-shih, etc.—cannot detract from the extensive scholarship and the vast labour represented by this first of Dr. Williamson's promised trilogy. The volume may justly be regarded as the most important contribution in recent years to the Occidental world's knowledge of Chinese economic theory and practice. It should find a place in every library relating to China.

ESSON M. GALE.

⁷ Cf. Discourses on Salt and Iron 鹽鐵論, translated by E. M. Gale, E. J. Brill, Leyden, 1931.

China—A Short Cultural History. By C. P. Fitzgerald. The Cresset Historical Series. Edited by Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S. London, The Cresset Press. 1935. Pp. xx: 615. 21 Plates; 66 Illustrations; 19 Maps. 30/-.

Admittedly a work of *vulgarization* in a field of restricted interest, this handsome volume should go far to make the drab sameness of earlier Chinese histories more attractive to the general reader. On the other hand, this type of general history of China's recorded 3500 years of cultural development, compressed within the covers of one volume, must necessarily display more industry in compilation than originality in research. The writer has with commendable effectiveness summarized the fruits of current scholarship. Conforming to the sub-title of the work, "Political history is given only in outline . . .," while "Cultural conditions, the development of religion, literature and art, are treated in greater detail." The unhappy period of decline at the closing years of the Manchu dynasty, usually over emphasized, is given its proper proportions at the end. This is to dispel "the widespread belief that the history of China is a monotonous record of three thousand years of stagnation ending in a disorderly collapse."

Dr. Fitzgerald is already known as the author of an intensive study of the career of T'ai-tsung, Li Shih-ming, second of the T'ang emperors, under the title of "Son of Heaven."¹ In the present work he has adopted largely the traditional historical outline followed by E. T. Williams, K. S. Latourette and others. An attempt has been made as explained to distribute emphasis in such a way as to present a more balanced picture. Specially noteworthy are the chapters on the social and economic revolution of the Han era (Ch. VII), and social and economic conditions in the T'ang period (Ch. XIV) in the source material for which (e.g.

¹ Critically reviewed by Dr. Woodbridge Bingham in *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* Vol. XVIII No. 3 pp. 393-412. (Oct. 1934).

the *T'ang Shu*) Dr. Fitzgerald's studies have made him an authority. A chapter (XIX) is devoted to the Sung socialist statesman Wang An-shih whose political innovations are little known to the Occident.

A valuable feature of the volume is the profusion of plates, illustrations and maps which enhance its instructional value and lend added interest to the text. Numerous art objects have been selected with discrimination from distinguished collections for reproduction. With the exception of some of the maps, particularly the rather grotesque one of China at the end of the book, these illustrative features are appropriate and well-executed. Occasional footnotes indicate sources of the text itself; but a systematic bibliography either at the end of each chapter or section, or at the end of the volume would add materially to its usefulness for the serious student.

Dr. Fitzgerald is not averse it would seem to occasional dogmatizing. The five overlords (Pa) of the hegemonies (685-591 B.C.) are accepted as historical (p. 57) though H. Maspero regards their number and position as a systemization conformable to the five cardinal points (including the centre). General dicta are pronounced from time to time as, " . . . preoccupation with moral principles rather than with political forms is characteristic of all Chinese thought, and is in sharp contrast to the point of view adopted by western peoples, who tend to devise political forms first and adjust moral principles to them afterwards" (p. 73). "Taoism . . . has always appealed to the Chinese dislike of meticulous regulation" (p. 85). An opinion of some originality (p. 85) relates to an interpretation of Confucius' teaching:

Finally in his person the superior man, the ideal nobleman, must be correct, reserved, placid and self-controlled. So well have the Confucians succeeded in preaching these last virtues that western nations have come to believe that the Chinese character is really naturally in accordance with them. Confucius attached weight to these things not because they were inherently easy to his fellow men, but because, on the contrary, he observed that on all sides men were casting aside the restraints of morality, giving way to violent passions, and were prone to sudden phases of hysteria. He insisted on the glory and virtue of the past ages of Wu and the sages Yao and Shun, because he saw that the social order was rapidly decaying, that men, far from being naturally averse to change, were easily adapting themselves to new ideas of morality and conduct.

Some obscurity, if not inconsistency, lies between statements relating to the connection of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* to the *Tso Chuan*. The latter is credited with containing a very brief ritual commentary on the *Ch'un Ch'iu* (p. 81), the two books it is held having really no intimate connection. Later (p. 88) the *Tso Chuan* is credited with throwing light on all the obscure events and explaining the formal language of the *Ch'un Ch'iu*. On p. 384, footnote, Père Wieger, author of *Textes historiques* is charged with exhibiting "the marked religious bias of a Catholic missionary." Dr. Fitzgerald evidently forgets the great protestant missionary sinologue, Jas. Legge's noted diatribe against Confucian thought! Again on p. 530, footnote, no authority is quoted for the allegation that foreigners were assigned the south-east corner of Peking because it was regarded as damper than the west.

The reader of this volume, which is a successor to volumes on the history of Russia and Japan in this series, will form the impression that in lucidity of presentation, accuracy in scholarship, and thorough understanding of the unique world whose societal development he describes, Dr. Fitzgerald has made a contribution of distinction to facilities for the study of China.

ESSON M. GALE.

Yellow Rivers; Adventures in a Chinese Parish.¹ By Earl Herbert Cressy. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1932.

This is a book which comes out of the personal experiences of a missionary in inland China, but it will be a great mistake for anyone to set it aside, on the grounds that its contents will be of interest only to those who have some concern with interest in the Christian missionary enterprise. The author has been able, to a peculiar degree, to look upon his work in an objective way, and to use his own experience to present many an interpretative insight into the ways of life of rural China. The task is so well done, there is such a continuing human interest, the insights into the ways of the Chinese mind as revealed in the incidents of daily life are so penetrating and well phrased, that the book becomes a series of valuable case studies in Chinese characteristics. Indeed, the present reviewer is inclined to feel that no such pictures of village life in interior China have been presented since Arthur Smith's classics, *Chinese Characteristics*, and *Village Life in China*.

The truthful picturing of typical Chinese scenes presents the gradual penetration of modern ideas, and the reaction of the common folk to such ideas, in terms concrete in detail, yet universal in meaning. For the transformation of traditional ideas is the chief characteristic of China to-day. Christian missionary effort is but one of the agencies for introducing new ideas, but in many parts of China it is the agency closest to everyday life.

One finds in the book an interesting study of the way in which an eager young missionary discovers the real mind and spirit of the people for whom he is working, and learns through his Chinese colleagues how to deal with Chinese individuals and groups. The reader's interest is caught from the first, and held throughout, by the easy naturalness with which actual conditions are pictured, and the discerning comments on the various situations developed. A special feature is the realism with which the author presents the various church groups, showing how typical Chinese characteristics are expressed within the Christian circle. There is no romantic over-coloring of Christian influence. The way in which clan fights develop, even within the church circles, is clearly shown, and the skilful tricks, by which local bullies and good-for-nothings try to manipulate church leaders for their own advantage, very skilfully drawn. The story about the barber and the forty good-for-nothings quite reminds us of some of the heroes of the *Shui Hu Chuan*, whom Pearl Buck has presented to English readers in her *All Men are Brothers*. Before one finishes, one feels pretty well acquainted with Kan San Hsien and its people. The real hero of the stories is Little Yang, the evangelist, who from being a trouble maker at the beginning, turns out to be a very skilful and earnest Christian leader. With his help, the young missionary, John Chatfield, successfully meets the problems of village disapproval, and overcomes the influence of old style missionary efforts, through which the church had become a "city of refuge" for fellows who were trying to use its influence for their own purposes. The skill with which Chatfield and Little Yang checkmate the scheme of the Hu clan, in connection with the death of Lo San, is a splendid story. Han Sien-sen, the eager, young, reforming magistrate, has to learn, quite as much as does the young missionary, that he must accommodate himself to the prejudices and traditions of the people whom he would modernize, before he can really help them. Each realistic scene presents some phase of the struggle between new ideas and old traditions.

The stories should be read and pondered by all who are concerned with the vast process of modernization going on in China to-day. While the changes in

¹ This Book has recently been translated and published in Sweden.
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connection with officialdom attract the attention of newspaper reporters, the important thing in China now is really the quiet movements by which ignorance, superstition and fear, parts of the old tradition, are being slowly undermined and new conditions of social co-operation and goodwill are introduced among the common people. Readers who discover this book and interpret its true meaning may be helped to realize to what an extent the Christian enterprise is one of the great socializing and modernizing forces among the Chinese people. It is surprising that so few missionaries, and others whose commercial or professional work gives them contact with the everyday life of the common people, have made use of their intimate insight into Chinese social life and psychology, to help interpret what is happening to the English-reading public, in the mind of everyday China, the China of the plain people. Mr. Cressy's modest book makes a real contribution to the understanding of the Chinese people. It is to be hoped that many others who have had experiences of the type which was his, will draw upon their resources to help interpret the movements of inner thought that are going on behind the screen of official rivalry and political scheming throughout the republic.

Departments of sociology are gathering statistics and preparing treatises to help in the "rural reconstruction" movement, which attracts so much attention in the intellectual circles now. Too few of the sociologists, however, are equipped with personal experience of the common folk, that will enable them to interpret the inductions that come from their tables, and turn them into practical plans for the reconstruction of the living, social body. Mr. Cressy's stories in their concrete realism, and sympathetic understanding, give insights to supplement the formulae of economists and sociologists.

To the reviewer, who is a devotee of the Wade system, in the effort to get some sort of uniformity into the presentation of Chinese names to Western readers, Mr. Cressy's romanization is annoying. However, that is a minor point. A long series of studies like *Yellow Rivers* will present the source material from which to attempt generalizations regarding Chinese psychology, that may help to accelerate the introduction of new ideas. Very likely much that seems mysterious will then appear quite reasonable, in the light of the background which explains it.

L. C. PORTER.

Yenching University,
June, 1936.

The Twin Pagodas of Zayton. By Gustav Ecke and Paul Demiéville, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1935. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Monograph Series, Volume II. 6 3/4" x 10 1/4". Pp. viii; 95. Plates 72, Plans 5. U.S.\$5.00.

A pagoda, like other Buddhist monuments, is a symbol of a far-flung culture. It is not in its static aspects that human culture is most fascinating, but in interaction of one culture with another, for at such points come the greatest richness and the most powerful stimulus to development. Ch'uan-chow, in South Fukien, the Zayton of Marco Polo, was such a center. During the thirteenth century, when the twin pagodas were built, Zayton was perhaps the chief emporium of China's foreign trade. Its fame "came to be one of the causes contributing to the discovery

of America." Its name "survives for us in the word 'satin'." It contains the remains of Hindu and Nestorian sanctuaries, and the ruins of what is said to be the second largest Mohammedan Mosque, whose granite main hall this reviewer paced at seventy-five feet square. The authors trace two aspects of this culture, pagoda architecture and Buddhist iconography, to India and Japan, as well as various parts of China. They make vivid the interplay of ideas from India throughout China to Japan.

The section on the architecture of the pagodas, by Ecke, gives detailed and technical comparisons with earlier and contemporary pagodas in China, including several in Fukien, and in Japan. This is presented in greater detail in Chapter I of "Structural Features of the Stone-Built T'ing-Pagoda" by the same author.¹ This material is based on careful measurements and gives full technical details. It has valuable comparisons with other pagodas, and indicates trends and developments.

The section on sculpture compares pagodas in several other Fukien cities, and indicates the development of a "whole group of provincial carvings . . . which embody certain traits of post-Tang Chinese sculpture in general." A pictorial quality is traced to the "influence of contemporary Buddhist painting," and illustrated from Japanese collections.

The bulk of the book contains notes on iconography by Demiéville. The 72 plates contain some 230 illustrations and give a complete record. Notes deal with them one by one. The two pagodas have some 200 iconographic items, including Bodhisattvas, Guardians, Monks, scenes from sacred books, and ornamental figures. In the words of the author, "such a vivid and comprehensive 'Bible de pierre' of Buddhism is hardly to be found elsewhere in the Far East." There are 12 panels (greenstone) from the life of Buddha, and 26 from history or legend of Chinese and Indian Buddhism. The carvings in coarse granite, averaging five feet high, agree in the lower storeys with the canon, but become more fanciful on the upper storeys, so that many cannot be identified. There are a number of duplications. The majority are not of outstanding artistic merit, and many are quite inferior. They throw an "interesting light on popular Buddhism at the end of the Sung dynasty." It is interesting to see Bodhidharma portrayed as a fat rustic rather than in the form that has become fixed. There is a valuable summary (p. 81) of the popular characteristics of Buddhism at this period as here indicated.

This is a good and stimulating book, and brings together a wide range of information. However, the order of the plates is faulty, and necessitates much waste of time. The book is an assemblage of notes. Some of the most interesting things appear incidentally. It is to be regretted that the material, apart from notes on plates, could not have been presented in better organized narrative.

The chief disappointment to this reviewer was the failure to deal further with certain interesting traces of probable Nestorian influence. There is one illustration of the winged figures which appear in considerable numbers. There is an illustration and brief mention of a supposed Nestorian cross, which so far as this reviewer could learn in a brief visit has since been looted by some enterprising savant. Perhaps this will stimulate the Fukien Culture Society to follow up these clues.

E. H. CRESSY.

¹ Monumenta Serica Vol. I, Fasc. 2, 1935, Henry Vetch, Peiping, pp. 253-76, Plates XV including 3 detailed architectural drawings.

Buddhist Sculptures at the Yun Kang Caves. By Mary Augusta Mullikin and Anna M. Hotchkis. 7½ x 10½. 66 pp, 8 color plates, 20 halftones, 19 drawings. Henri Vetch, Peiping, 1935. \$9.

This is a book to be commended. Two artists made the trip to Yun Kang in 1932 and turned out 47 paintings and drawings. They present these in their historical setting, to which one chapter is devoted. The book gives an interpretation from the angle of two artists sensitive to the beauty and romance of days long since past. The six chapters deal with history, the road to Yu Kang, the place and its people, descriptions of caves, and the symbolism of Yun Kang art.

"We have no cave," said a monk of the Fah Hsiang Ssü in Hangchow apologetically to this reviewer when viewing the massive masonry construction which houses the cadaver of an ancient monk now worshipped as an incarnation. It is somewhat surprising, but on the whole correct, to find Lin Yin, at Hangchow, the last of a series of caves with religious sculptures, reaching from India to Korea, portrayed on an interesting map on page 6. These caves form a lasting record of the march of Western sculpture to the Far East.

An interesting question arises as to the function of art in portraying monuments of this kind. These artists have recognized that there is more to it than turning out some good paintings, although several charming color sketches might be anywhere in the northwest, and the lack of color in most of the caves has led to an undue emphasis upon the portions which have been restored, which restorations struck this reviewer when he saw them in 1916 as pretty bad. Should the artist then compete with the camera? This reviewer would like to present the thesis that the most useful function of the artist is to effect a restoration. The monument itself must not be touched. But a painting of it may restore broken noses and eliminate blemishes, and enable us to see more clearly the original. This our artists have not done. Indeed some of their presentations are less clear in certain details than the photographs.

Another question concerns the attitude of Western artists and art lovers toward Eastern art. These two artists have had keen vision. They have called attention to the European faces of the five-headed Indian god on page 43, and the ill success of the artist in joining so many heads and arms to one body. They also emphasize the lack of ornament. However, their paintings are creative, as real art must be, and the result is thus a hybrid, in part the creation of artists of the fifth century, and in part that of a modern. This reviewer has carefully compared the portrayals of the "Spiritual Buddha"—rightly chosen as outstanding—with two photographs which he secured on a visit twenty years ago. He prefers the photographs. They present the Wei artist unadulterated. One of the great perils in relations between East and West is in not seeing things as they are, but colored by Western creative energy or enthusiasm. There may be a place for interpretation, but this is difficult and dangerous. Is it not better to let the past speak for itself?

A further illustration of this is the Buddha on page 50, "whose archaic smile verges upon a smirk." This is the famous Wei smile. If smirk, the portrayal here is different from the one in the photo. Some savant should trace this tantalizing smile back to the Indian temple and cave sculptures, and give us its inner psychology.

Another question. One beautiful figure is portrayed minus a head. It was extant twenty years ago when this reviewer saw it, and he gazed on his photo with a feeling of sadness. Can not something be done to save these beautiful monuments from vandalism?

This is a book to commend. This reviewer hopes that the above observations will not discourage these and other artists from making records of other monuments in China.

E. H. CRESSY.

The Chinese on the Art of Painting. By Osvald Sirén, published by Henri Vetch, French Bookstore, Peiping. Obtainable from Shanghai booksellers. Price in China \$10.00.

First among the many writings more or less contemporary with the keen interest evolved all over the world from the London Exhibition, must stand Dr. Sirén's scholarly work. From the viewpoint of students of Chinese art, and its history, his excerpts from the actual criticism of Chinese painters and writers themselves, coupled with his own discriminating comments, form a reservoir of authentic source-material which could scarcely be surpassed.

Members of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai were honored indeed, that some of the chapters should have been presented as lectures from our own rostrum, by Dr. Sirén in person, and later published in full in the 1935 edition of the *Journal*.

In the generous acknowledgements of his Introduction, the two Chinese assistant translators, working in Stockholm, but without a knowledge of the English language; and the invaluable assistance of Mrs. Florence Ayscough, in reading through the entire manuscript during his Shanghai visit in February, 1935, are given special appreciation. Dr. Sirén mentions in his Introduction the great mass of documentary writing, to discuss "the practice and theory of the painter's art which has been fully preserved conveying the information in a form which, in spite of a certain vagueness, and sometimes strange terminology, is more accessible than the aesthetic symbology of many of the old paintings."

"In view of this it seemed to me of great importance to translate and co-ordinate from the art-historian's point-of-view, a certain number of the early Chinese writers on painting, of which hitherto only minor fragments have been made accessible to western students. Using the same principles of appreciation now, as in the 4th and 5th centuries, the continuity of Chinese pictorial art follows the same course of unbroken traditionalism as Chinese civilization itself." . . . "Looking at it from a distance of several centuries, the continuity is more impressive than many of the brilliant individual departures or fresh side-currents."

Recognising the close relationship between the under-currents of philosophic and religious thought, and those of Chinese art, Dr. Sirén says:

"In my discussion of the aesthetic treatises I have simply tried to give an account of the leading ideas, and to indicate, whenever possible, their origin or their connection with certain schools of religion or philosophy without entering into any detailed discussions of the latter. Only in the case of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism has the philosophical side of the problem received a somewhat fuller presentation, because here we find the very essence of the ideas which penetrate Chinese aesthetics and the clearest philosophical reflection of the Chinese attitude towards painting, an attitude which broadly speaking, existed as an undercurrent since earliest times."

Beginning with the Han, the progression of the dynasties provides a chronological and historical background. Early poets and writers discuss pictorial art in moral, ceremonial, or political usage with little attention to stylistic character. The *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi* (Origin of Painting) concluded in A.D. 845 by Chang Yen-yüan is therefore the earliest writing quoted as giving the most interesting account of its methods and aims. The amazing amount of material used, and the

clarity of its application are among the outstanding aspects of Dr. Sirén's work. Nearly every critic of importance mentions the Liu Fa (Six Canons of Painting) by Hsieh Ho, yet so skillfully are the comments balanced and directed, that there is little impression of unavoidable repetition. Quite at length in unforgettable and inspiring phrases, the first principle of painting, the Spirit Resonance (Ch'i yün) without which there is no real life or meaning, is thoroughly set forth, and its fundamental value referred to again and again, by writers of each period, successively.

The very spirit and character of those men who have made Chinese history in painting, shine forth from these pages; Ku K'ai Chih, Wu Tao Tzū, Wang Wei, Kuo Hsi, Su Tung-p'o beloved Su Shih of Sung, to mention only a few famous names, become living personalities, breathing individual tastes and ideals, but each in his special way, illuminating the Tao, the eternal Way of Life for which they all are seeking.

Whether it be Landscape, Flower and Bird, Orchid, or Bamboo alone "Painting must be sought for beyond the shapes" said Chang Yen-yüan, "but this is difficult to explain to the common people". The mysterious resonance of the spirit (ch'i yün) was to him essentially a manifestation of the Tao, a breath or pulse-beat of the indefinable spirit of life."

"The old sage says to the young painter:

'Painting is not to make beautiful things, to obtain their true likeness. Painting is to paint, to estimate the shapes of things; to really obtain them; to estimate the beauty of things, to reach it; to estimate the significance of things and to grasp it. One should not take outward beauty for reality . . . when truth is reached, both spirit and substance are fully expressed.'"

Dr. Sirén quotes at length from Kuo Hsi, whose notes on painting, the Lin Chuan Kao Chih published by his son Kuo Jo-hsi, have recently been published in English translation by Miss Shio Sakanishi, a valuable addition to bibliography on Chinese Art—well-chosen ideas set in the gracious phrases of Dr. Sirén's translation give one an intimate knowledge of the painter's outlook, "rich in inner character, in good deeds, in devotion to parents and friends." He says:

"In painting, the ch'i yün grows out of the wanderings of the heart. Spiritual beauty is produced by the use of the brush; from this one may realize how difficult it is to use the brush properly."

Many references are made to Huang Kung-wang, founder of the Yuan school of "gentlemen painters", with whom the search for the Tao became inseparable from the setting of ink to paper or silk.

Contrary to some opinions on the place of modern Chinese art, or rather, the ability of Chinese painters to produce work equal in quality to that of the ancients, Dr. Sirén quotes several critics of the Ch'ing period "which produced not only a number of very able painters but also some writers of remarkable originality." One is reminded of a sentence from Petrucci:

"Chinese painters of the last two centuries still number masters of the first rank. This alone indicates that the sacred fire is by no means extinct."

At the end of the text are appended four Translations in full of several of the authorities quoted. To share the original thoughts of Hsieh Ho, of the Six Canons; The Pi Hua Chi, Ching Hao's Notes on Brushwork, classifications of quality as it was variously manifested, opens to the thoughtful reader a new world of philosophy and aesthetic achievement, a world illumined by the devoted spirit of its interpreter.

The Prose Poetry of Su Tung-p'o: Chinese version rendered into English with introductory essays, notes and commentaries by Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai. \$10.00.

The saying is attributed to Yen Fu, the famous scholar who introduced Darwin, Spencer and others to China, that the essentials of good translation are textual faithfulness (信), non-vulgarity (雅) and expressiveness (達). By this standard, one cannot but admire how well Mr. Clark has done a difficult job. A brief comparison of his translation with the original version—there being twenty-three *fu* which comprise the whole of Su Tung-p'o's prose poetry—reveals that the translation is done with meticulous care and painstaking deliberation. That there are still certain passages in the English translation the meaning of which is obscure and unintelligible, is due to the inherent difficulty of translation from Chinese into English (and of course *vice versa*) for whereas a couple of words can express the meaning in literary Chinese, the English equivalent must be lengthened into lines in order to bring the idea into focus. And perhaps for that reason the *Times Literary Supplement* says of the book: “. . . But it is a book that will appeal to the learned or curious rather than to the ordinary reader”. The difficulty is, however, partly removed by the addition of voluminous notes at the end of every *fu*, which are interesting and instructive as examples of historical research.

Su Tung-p'o was born in Szechuan in 1037 during the Sung Dynasty, of a family of great literary reputation. Foreign readers will perhaps be more interested in him if they know that it was Su who as Governor of Hangchow beautified the now world-famous West Lake where one of the dykes was built by and named after him, forming one of the ten scenic centres around the West Lake (蘇堤春曉—Spring dawn on the Su Dyke). Su Tung-p'o is more a philosopher and satirist than a poet, although his attainments in poetry are of a very high order. In composing poems he aims at simplicity and breaks away from the fetters of convention. It is in Su's hands that

“the *fu* becomes a new thing: he brings ease into what has hitherto been stately; he changes the measured, even-paced tread suggestive of the military drill into a swinging gait; and he dispenses altogether with that elaborate pageantry which old writers of *fu* are so fond of unrolling before the reader. . . . Su succeeds in softening and thawing this rigid style, smoothing over its angularity but making the sharp points of the rhyming antitheses melt into one another.”

While on the subject, it may not be amiss to quote a few definitions of this peculiar form of literary poetry known as *fu*. H. A. Giles describes the *fu* as “an irregular metrical style of composition in rhyme, something between poetry and prose, used for narrative”; W. H. Medhurst defines the *fu* as “a kind of impassioned prose, the number of feet in each line being irregular, rhyme recurring at intervals and rhythm being not essential.”

As has been stated above, Mr. Clark has taken great pains to make his translation of the *fu* as exact and elegant as the languages involved permit. In view, however, of the too frequent use of metaphorical expressions in Chinese poetry, it is a common occurrence that different interpretations may be and are made of certain words or passages. A typical example is to be found in the *Red Cliff Fu* (pp. 126-7):

“. . . And so we drank our wine with much rejoicing, and beating time on the side of the boat, we sang:—

With cinnamon boat and orchid oars,

We pierce the moon beams, ascending the stream of light.
Impenetrable are my inmost thoughts.

Beautiful maidens of old, in what corner of the heavens do ye dwell?"

While "we pierce the moonbeams" is of course "we pierce (with our oars) the reflection of the moon on the water", "beautiful maidens" may not be taken to mean literally such, for Su Tung-p'o evidently alludes here to his (good) friends of whom he was thinking, and an assertion, rather than an interrogation, was made:

"Deep are my thoughts,
My good friends are at the ends of the earth."
(渺渺兮予懷望美人今天一方)

And the words "corner of heaven" are again not literally meant—both by usage in Chinese literature and by the meaning implied in the *fu*. By common usage, they represent "horizon", "skyline" and therefore "remoteness". In the same *fu*, there is a pair of lines describing the song on a flute:

"They (the notes of the song) would arouse the dragons lurking in their dark caverns. *And they would draw the tears from the widow on her solitary boat.*" (The italics are not Mr. Clark's original translation).

(舞幽壑之潛蛟泣孤舟之嫠婦)

Mr. Clark in his original translation:

"They would arouse the dragons lurking in their dark caverns. And the boatwoman, who was a widow, wept."

has apparently interpreted the pair of lines describing the one and same thing into the first line describing the flute song and the second line narrating a fact.

The reviewer also recommends that in a future edition it would be a good idea to insert the Chinese version of the *fu* either side by side with the English translation or at the end of the book. It will give readers a convenience for reference and comparison.

T. FORD WANG.

Elements of Buddhist Iconography. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Harvard—Yenching Institute. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1935.

All men of whatever race express themselves by means of symbols. So to understand the civilization or religion of a people it is necessary to be acquainted with their symbolism. This present work is an effort to trace the origin and significance of the chief aniconic symbols found in Buddhism. Anthropomorphic symbols are of a later date. They came in connection with the rise of Mahayana Buddhism and contacts with Greek and other Western influences. These aniconic symbols, on the other hand, go back to pre-Buddhistic times and are found in the Vedic period. These were taken over by Buddhism and elaborated more fully. Thus we find in early Buddhism a marked impersonal note. Instead of interpreting the universe in anthropomorphic terms physical objects or the non-human terms were used. To the orthodox Buddhist the use of human terms was altogether too limiting.

In this careful study of Buddhist symbols we are shown how the various symbols arose. The more important of these are the Tree of Life, the Earth-Lotus, the World-Wheel, the Lotus Throne, and the Fiery Pillar.

The Tree was associated with the Enlightenment of the Buddha. But it takes on a much wider significance. It becomes a symbol of all existence. Incorporated into this idea were mythological conceptions of the universe as a tree with its roots above and with space, air, fire, water and earth as its branches.

Associated with this idea of a cosmic tree went also that of the Fiery Pillars. This represented the survival of a Vedic formula in which Agni is represented as the axis of the Universe, extending as a pillar between earth and heaven. Agni as the Fiery Pillar represents the element of fire present as an unseen energy in all existence. In the final analysis, of course, in true Buddhistic style all is reduced to inner states of the mind.

Again we are introduced to the Bodhi Tree, or Tree of Wisdom, "whose roots strike deep into stability—whose flowers are moral acts—which bears righteousness as its fruits." Then, to change the figure, we learn of the World-Tree representing the procession of incessant life. It is an exteriorization of the Will to Life. In many of the finest pieces of Buddhist art both the Tree and the Fiery Pillar are crowned by the trisula, a symbol denoting the jewel-trinity of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. This too, our author tells us, is an older symbolism adapted by Buddhism to its own purposes.

In the older Vedic mythological representations the Tree of Life rises into space from the naval-centre of deity recumbent on the back of the waters, its trunk representing the axis of the universe, its branches all extension or differentiation on whatever plane of being conceived.

In later representations the lotus becomes the source of all manifestation. It bears on its expanded flower the Father of the World, the "naval-born", or "lotus-born", or "lotus-seated." "This lotus is now space, then the earth or any one plane of being, that whereon and whereby existence is supported." But again, our author warns us, this is all subjective as implied in the expression, "The Lotus of the Heart." References to the lotus in this connection are found in the Vedic literature. A more familiar aspect of the lotus symbolism is its use in representing the idea of purity. It grows in the mud, its origin is concealed, and its leaf is unaffected by the waters on which it rests. So the Tathagata was born in the world, we are told, but was unaffected by the world. Again at times the Self, or Atman, is compared to a drop of water which rests on the lotus leaf but does not cling to it.

The conception of the Buddha supported by a lotus-throne, so common in later Buddhist art, appeared first in the Gandhara period in the second century A.D.

We are next given a study of the representation of the Buddhas as Dhar-macakra, Word-Wheel or World-Wheel. Many examples of this Wheel of the Law appear in early Buddhist art. The most famous is the wheel set up by Asoka in the Deer Park at Benares on the sight of the first preaching, or the "First Turning of the Wheel of the World."

In Indian symbolism the Wheel stood for the revolution of the year, the flowing tide of all begotten things. It is also associated directly with the sun. The sun as the solar wheel is always revolving. Thus the wheel comes to represent the universe in its entirety as it continues in all aspects of existence. In the wheel symbol there is the undimensioned central point. From this point the radius extends outward towards an immeasurable circumference. In the realm of psychology, the realm to which the Buddhists invariably revert, the center represents the non-existence of the supra-rational. Here is calm and inactivity. The farther from the center the greater the motion. The cycle of

the ego-consciousness includes an outward movement with ever increasing action and unrest and a return to the calm of the point of rest in the centre. Psychologically this is Nirvana, or with the vanishment of the point itself Parinirvana. Progressive enlightenment then leads to a gradual contraction of the radius until the point is reached where the circumference is merged into the central point. At the centre sits, so to speak, the Unmoved Mover, who keeps the wheel of all existence spinning. In the early Pali and Sanskrit texts this One is referred to as He who turns the Wheel. In monastic Buddhism the Buddha, after his enlightenment, fills this rôle of the One who sets in motion the Law of Truth in order that men may find the Way. As the Dharmacakra the Buddha is taken to be the embodiment of the Word. He is both the Sovereign Mover of the Wheel and the Wheel itself. In Buddhist art we often find the Dharmacakra represented as supported by the lotus.

In the representation of the lotus capital in Buddhist art then the "pillar itself corresponds to the stem, cable mouldings to the stamens, and abacus to pericarp. The capital, then, represents the heavenly ground on which the Word is manifested, while the actual earth in which the pillar stands is that terrestrial ground on which the Word is actually preached, the pillar extends from earth to heaven, it is the axis of the universe; the whole represents the universe." Again when all is said and done the seat of the Lotus Throne is found to be in the human heart.

Besides this very helpful discussion of the aniconic symbols and their origins we are supplied with copious notes and well-chosen illustrations. The fifteen plates illustrating Buddhist art and symbolism, as found in the back of the book, give us a little idea of the richness of conception and the delicacy of execution of Buddhist art. By helping us to understand the pre-Buddhistic uses of the symbols the author is aiding us in coming to a truer understanding of the religious concepts involved. We hope that a similar study of the origin of the anthropomorphic images and symbols will follow.

FRANK R. MILLICAN.

Christian Literature Society, Shanghai.

Bronze Vessels of Shan Chai (善齋彝器圖錄). By Jung Kêng (容庚); published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Peiping, 1936; 3 volumes.

Shan Chai is the hall-name of Mr. Liu T'i-chih (劉體智), a banker of Shanghai, who has made an extraordinary collection of bronzes. Two years ago Mr. Liu published an account of his collection in twenty-eight volumes under the title of Shan Chai Chi Chin Lu (善齋吉金錄) and followed it with another book called Hsiao Chiao Ching Ko Chin Wên T'a Pên (小校經閣金文拓本). There have been no publications on bronzes of such great variety and importance since the appearance of T'ao Chai Chi Chin Lu (陶齋吉金錄) which described the great collection of Tuan Fang. In his Chi Chin Lu, Mr. Liu described various bronzes commencing with musical and ritual objects. A drawing of each object, a rubbing of inscriptions when they occurred and the measurements were given. In his Chin Wên T'a Pên, rubbings of inscriptions were given and these included not only those of his own but all that he could collect from every available source. Prof. Jung in the first part of the Introduction to this book which I am reviewing speaks of his amazement when in 1930 he first saw the wealth of material which had been collected by Mr. Liu. He found more than two hundred ritual vessels which had

not been mentioned in earlier records. From the large number of objects belonging to Mr. Liu, Professor Jung has selected one hundred and seventy-five. These have been photographed and reproduced in three volumes, in the last of which the author has added some descriptions and comments extending to forty-five double pages. In these the measurements of each vessel are given, the inscriptions discussed and references made to other books in which it is mentioned. Frequently the author adds his own comments and these are always illuminating and sometimes piquant. But Professor Jung is so instructive in the later paragraphs of his Introduction that I am translating it in full.

"Research work in bronze inscriptions is most difficult. The inscription of the platter of T'ang (湯盤) 'kou jih hsin, jih jih hsin, yu jih hsin' was a misreading and should have been 'hsiang jih hsin, tsu jih hsin, fu jih hsin' according to Kuo Mo-jo (郭沫若) who based his opinion on the inscriptions of the three spears excavated at Pao-ting. This interpretation is both clever and plausible.

"Ou-yang Hsiu (歐陽修) once said that Yang Yüan-ming (楊元明) was very proficient in reading ancient writings in the seal characters invented by Shih Chou (史籀) while the learned Liu Ch'ang (劉敞) was familiar with all branches of study. However, in the case of the inscription of the Chin Chiang caldron (晉姜鼎) the second of the two ideographs 不段 was left undeciphered by Liu while Yang read them as 不敢. The first four characters of the phrase 對揚斥光刺 were left undeciphered by Liu while the last one was given by him as 勳; and the phrase was rendered by Yang as 姪壽久光勳. We now know that both of them were mistaken.

"It is reported by Chao Ming-ch'êng (趙明誠) that Li Kung-lin (李公麟) once secured an ancient square caldron which he took to be a vessel presented to Tzû-ch'an (子產) by the Marquis of Chin, and later when he secured the Chung Chi I (中姑匜) he described it as a vessel belonging to Pi Chi (偃姑), the mother of Duke Hsiang of the Kingdom of Chin. This is now known to have been ridiculous, but, nevertheless, this theory of Li concerning Pi Chi was used in the Po Ku T'u Lu in the interpretation of the I Mu I (義母匜).

"After obtaining rubbings and photographs of the Piao Ch'iang Bells from Mr. Liu T'î-chih several friends of mine tried to explain the inscriptions. At first they all agreed that the inscriptions belonged to the time of Ling Wang, but this seemed to me an unlikely theory. Kuo Mo-jo ascribed it to the time of An Wang, and I was about to follow him, but later, when Wên T'ing-ching (溫廷敬) attributed it to the time of Wei Lieh Wang on the basis of the Shui Ching Chu (水經注), I adopted this date. Professor Karlgren of Sweden in an essay on the date of the Piao Ch'iang Bells discussed in full detail all the three dates of Ling Wang (571-545 B.C.), Wei Lieh Wang (425-402 B.C.) and An Wang (401-376 B.C.). He says that the Wei Lieh Wang theory is most attractive, and that the decorative designs on the bells agree with the so-called Huai style, but he allied himself with the theory that it belonged to the Ling Wang period. Karlgren's reasoning reminds me of people journeying to the Three Fairy Isles. Whenever they get near the Isles a wind springs up and drives them away. The trouble with Karlgren is that his mind is confused by previous discussions of other writers.

"Again, in the sentence 圖羌作戔斥辟韓宗啟遷征秦沚齊 in the inscription on the Piao Ch'iang Bells, Liu Chieh (劉節) read 戔斥 as 戎氏, 韓宗 as 陽宗, and the character 啟 as the original character for the bells in a set. This was followed by Wu Ch'î-ch'ang (吳其昌) and Wu K'ai-shêng (吳闡生). T'ang Lan (唐蘭) read 戔 as 伐. He first read 韓 as 虜, but later when told by Mr. Ma Hêng (馬衡) that the surname Han in ancient seals was written in this

style he changed it to 軌 with the sound of *han*. The character 敵 is read by T'ang as 擊 and taken by him as being the name of a musical instrument. The character 戣 was rendered by Hsü Chung-shu (徐中舒) as 匕, meaning "dagger", for it has the radical 匕, and it thus implies that Piao Ch'iang made a dagger before the expedition. The character 敵 was taken by Hsü as a personal name. Kuo Mo-jo rendered 屬羌 as 屬狗, 戣 as 戎 being used for the character *yung* 鏞, meaning a large bell, and 悼宗敵 as the name of Marquis Lieh of Han whose name was Ch'ü (取), taking 取 as a miswritten character for 敵. According to Wên T'ing-ching the phrase 作戎 is the ancient expression for 興師, meaning to start a military expedition, and 敵達 is the equivalent of 統率, meaning command. Thus, it may be seen in how many different ways a sentence is interpreted. It is another example of two blind men who pretended to have seen the characters on a tablet, while in fact the tablet had not yet been hung up.

"Duke Mu of the Kingdom of Ch'in once sent Chiu Fang Kao in search of good horses. After three months he came back and reported to have seen a horse at Sha-ch'iu. It was a mare and bay. The horse was secured but it was found to be a black stallion. Duke Mu complained 'Not even being able to tell the color or the sex, what do you know about a horse?' The reading of ancient bronze inscriptions is like solving riddles, or guessing what is hidden under a bowl. When one reads too much into an inscription he will reach fanciful conclusions; just as in the case of the horse the man could not discern either its sex or its color. How shall I know that what I consider right is not wrong and what I consider wrong is not right?¹ My appeal in this book is to the objects themselves. These must be correctly presented and then left to readers to exercise their own judgment. The explanations I offer are only like traps for fishes or rabbits which may well be discarded when the objects are obtained.¹ 'Listen to everything but reserve your opinions when in doubt; be guarded in expressing all that you have to say'.²

Professor Jung must have chuckled as he wrote concerning the writhing gestures of his contemporaries while they struggled to explain the correct reading of newly-found characters. I could add to his list of conjectures but it is now unnecessary, for all agree in calling these bells Piao Ch'iang Chung and previous misnomers may be consigned to limbo. It is comforting, however, to have him recall the errors of early scholars such as Yang and Liu and even Li Kung-lin, while at the same time it is a sound warning against literary speculation which should be considered on the same level as its commercial sister.

The three volumes of this book are enclosed in a cloth-covered case. They are worthy of an honored place in the libraries of all students of Chinese Art.

JOHN C. FERGUSON.

Historical and Commercial Atlas of China. By Albert Herrmann, Ph.D., Professor of Historical Geography in the University of Berlin. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series. Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1935.

I opened the *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China* by Dr. Albert Herrmann with a feeling of elation. As I turned the pages and the beautifully colored maps came in view I felt still more elated. In fact, I anticipated an opportunity of feasting on the work of what undoubtedly represented prodigious efforts on the

¹ A quotation from Chuang Tzū.

² A quotation from the *Analecks*.

part of a scholar thoroughly acquainted with the subject. However, as I scanned the compilation more closely and examined the maps more in detail, my feeling of disappointment became increasingly greater.

In the first place, the compilation lacks an introduction or preface setting forth the ideas underlying its compilation and giving to the reader some instructions regarding its organization and its purpose. In fact, it would seem that this publication, representing as it does a tremendous amount of research and labor, should be accompanied by a considerable amount of explanatory material—far more than is carried in the legends accompanying the maps and charts. Without this descriptive material the reader finds himself in a maze of intricate detail from which he experiences great difficulty in extricating himself. Apparently the compiler took too much for granted. He was so full of his subject and so saturated with its infinite details that he seems to have lost sight of the mental equipment of the average reader who would be interested in taking advantage of his maps and charts.

If all the maps and charts were as simple as that on page 8 entitled "Prehistoric Sites in China", there would be no reason for further descriptive matter, but in the vast majority of cases they are so burdened with intricate details that without accompanying statements of salient facts outlining the main features which the charts are expected to present, the reader is likely to pass from one to the other with a deep sense of disappointment in his inability to realize more substantially on the immense amount of data confronting him because of a lack of ability better to understand and use them.

Furthermore, a chart such as that on page 80 entitled "Modern China—Minerals and Mining," or that on page 81, "Modern China—Industries," serves no very useful purpose because the information is too general and too lacking in specific definition. The map entitled "Modern China—Traffic and Communications" features the waterways in such a bold and outstanding manner that it is with extreme difficulty that one can trace the other means of communications portrayed. The lines representing navigation for small and large steamers seem to have been carried too far and are confusing. This map, as many of the others, attempts to portray too much and in the complexity of its details defeats the very object for which it was compiled. It would have been far more to the point had the compiler confined one map to waterways and presented on a second map the highways, railways and airways. Injection into this map of a miniature chart on the foreign trade of China for the years 1920 to 1932 is also ill advised. On the charts on pages 78 and 79, "Modern China—Agriculture and Live Stock" the dots representing the numbers of cattle or acres under cultivation show an attempt at accuracy which available data do not permit.

Thus, in my opinion, the Atlas as compiled and lacking in further explanatory or descriptive matter, must be disappointing both to the historian and the economist interested in this most ancient of civilizations and most populous of nations.

JULEAN ARNOLD.

Matteo Ricci's Scientific Contribution to China. By Henri Bernard, S.J. Translated by E. C. Werner. Henri Vetch—Peiping 1935. C.\$6.00.

This is a very interesting illustration of the process of the "Diffusion of Culture". At the end of the sixteenth century the Renaissance had well set in in Europe and the stream of mathematical knowledge originating in Ancient Greece and transmitted by Islam had begun to irrigate and revive the western mind with

results that were in another century to culminate in the *Principia Mathematica* of Isaac Newton and so to the mechanical era. Ricci arrived in China in 1582 and brought with him enough of the New Learning to be regarded by the Chinese as a prodigy of science. Mathematical and physical science in China had reached its highest peaks in the Han and T'ang dynasty and, although the Yuan had acquired some of the wisdom of Islam, both cosmography and astronomy were still much behind the stage reached by Claudius Ptolemy in the second century. Ricci produced to the Chinese a spherical world map, oblique sun-dials, Euclid's elements of geometry and an improved knowledge of eclipses which paved the way for Verbiest's reform of the calendar under K'anghsi.

A good description of Ricci's training in the Collegio Romano, his literary sources and his contacts with Chinese, especially Ch'ü T'ai-su, Li Wo-t'sun and Paul Hsü Kuang-ch'i (of Siccawei fame), makes very clear the tremendous influence which he exerted in establishing Sino-European relations in matters cultural.

H. CHATLEY.

Modern Newspaper Chinese 摩登新聞叢編. Progressive Readings with Vocabularies, Notes and Translations. By J. J. Brandt. Peiping, Henri Vetch, 1935. Pp. xii; 321. Ch.\$12.00.

A new textbook by Professor Brandt is always an event to the Western student of written Chinese. His *Introduction to Literary Chinese* which required a second edition in 1935 and his *Wenli Particles* (1929) must form a part of the literary *bagage* of every serious student of the language. Despite encouraging announcements of "simplified Chinese characters" (which merely mean new selected lists of the more frequently met with ideographs), as hitherto an interminable number of characters are left still to be mastered. Not only are some 3 to 4000 characters to be memorized as a working vocabulary, but these have to be intelligible in their innumerable idiomatic combinations, their allusions historical and literary, and in their various written styles of calligraphy. One cannot but recall in this connection how a recent Western translator of a Chinese poem failed to recognize the canonized name of the great T'ang Hsuan Tsung 唐玄宗 (Ming Huang 明皇) and gave it its literal values in translation. With no system of initial capitals in Chinese to indicate proper names, the error is quite understandable. The variety of penmanship—developed even more highly perhaps in Japan—forms very frequently an additional embarrassment to the self-professed Western sinologue who may be called upon by admiring friends to decipher a scroll or an inscription formed in the various running or grass strokes!

Professor Brandt's latest work is in all respects a valuable compilation. A natural development of his two earlier works already mentioned, their special features,—particularly the attention necessitated by the importance of the particle in Chinese sentence structure,—are incorporated in the present work. Vocabularies selected from the terms and expressions current in Chinese newspapers and which represent the contemporary language have been selected for the sixty lessons into which the book is divided. Illuminating notes accompany each lesson which consists—in addition to the lists of phrases and terms—of a Chinese excerpt taken from one of the principal metropolitan newspapers, followed by a closely literal English translation. Few if any errors of consequence are to be found in the work of this seasoned instructor. Perhaps for the better information

of the student, attention should have been called to the very frequent specific meaning of "research" attached to the characters 研究 instead of merely "investigate", while the second syllable of Mr. Wang Ching-wei's 汪精衛 name is not aspirated (page 29). A number of other variants in possible translations are noted. The essential value of the particle is stressed in two other texts available to the student—*The Translator's Assistant*, by Wu Kia-shan. (Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, 1933) and *Petit Précis de Grammaire Chinoise écrite* by G. Margouliès (Librarie d'Amerique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, 5 Rue de Tournon, Paris (6), 1934).¹ The textbook evidences painstaking care in compilation by the author, while letter press and format are clear and convenient, a credit to Messrs. Henri Vetch, Peiping, the publishers. With the development of English as the alternative *spoken* language of large numbers of Chinese, a knowledge of their *written* medium on the part of Occidentals is gradually assuming an importance transcending the oral speech. It is the growing need in this respect that Mr. Brandt's latest textbook is designed especially to fill.

E. M. GALE.

In Search of Old Peking. By L. C. Arlington and William Lewisohn, Henry Vetch, Peking, 1935. Pp. 382. Ch.\$12.50.

It is only because the authors of this remarkably comprehensive volume have lived many years in Peking and have spent those years in a sympathetic and understanding study of the ancient capital that a publication covering in detail such a wide field of research is possible. Every palace, temple or *hut'ung* in Peking has provided the scene for stirring events in the long history of the city and these have been painstakingly sought out and recorded in interesting fashion. The descriptions of places of interest are so detailed and complete that it is possible for one who has no knowledge of the Chinese language to identify and learn the meaning of many of the inscriptions in palaces and temples. With this book for a guide, the visitor can find new interest and fascination in the ancient scenes, and with a normal imagination can reconstruct in his own mind the glamorous Peking of the past. Though its greatest usefulness is as an extraordinarily complete guidebook to Peking (Peiping), the book contains a wealth of orderly arranged historical information of value to any student of China. A carefully prepared index adds to its value as a reference book.

CARL CROW.

The Manchu Abdication and the Powers, 1908-1912: An Episode in Pre-War Diplomacy: A Study of the Role of Foreign Diplomacy During the Reign of Hsüan T'ung. By John Gilbert Reid. University of California Press, Berkeley, California. 1935.

The sub-titles of this book are appropriate. The effects of European international rivalries upon China's development at a critical stage are the object of Dr. Reid's careful and exhaustive study. The period was one of great hopes on the part of the Western nations for participation in large railway enterprises and financial investments. The modernization planned by Kuang Hsü but defeated ten years before, could be again attempted upon the death of the

¹ Reviewed in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 56, No. 1, Mar. 1936, p. 97.

Empress Dowager Tzū Hsi. Much would depend upon how the new reign began. The accession of a three year old emperor, under a regent without force of character, was an initial fact unfortunate for China.

What was the influence of the powers during these decisive years? Dr. Reid's summary and conclusion will disappoint those who look for startling judgments. The powers, he points out, might have acted in concert to support a policy of modernization, or even to maintain the *laissez faire* imperial system, but they did neither of these things. They might have tried to save the Manchu monarchy, but they did not. As a consequence the government of the prince regent, already committed to modernization, was bewildered and weakened by this lack of moral support where moral support might have been expected. Instead of helping the situation, the powers "competed for economic rights with such energy that anti-government outcries ensued in the provinces." Such in brief is the character of this period of years as presented by Dr. Reid.

The book suggests comparison with Philip Joseph's study, *Foreign Diplomacy in China 1894-1900*, and illustrates the fact that the international rivalries that led to the intervention of 1900 were in no way relaxed as a result of that experience. In another way it suggests comparison with the recently published two volumes of Professor Langer of Harvard, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902*. Professor Langer's study is of the origins of the Triple Entente, though in fact it is carried up only to the formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The comparison is made in order to suggest the unique character of Dr. Reid's treatment. For he makes it plain that the existence of the Triple Entente and also of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had very great influence upon the course of diplomatic events in China. European questions took priority of interest in the European chancelleries. Great Britain, inclined to pursue a policy coinciding with that of the United States previously, was tied by the Entente and supported it "from Morocco to China." This fact gave the Russian government an advantage it did not fail to take. The government of the United States continued to support the open door and Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria, but by its activities in behalf of the Straight and Harriman interests injected a new element into discordant rivalries. Touching this part of Dr. Reid's study, though he does go into or even suggest later developments, one is made aware why Japan's advances of recent years have been so successfully effected: the preliminary victories were gained combatting the Straight-Harriman plans and the Knox proposal to neutralize the Manchurian railways years ago, in the period covered by Dr. Reid's study. Dr. Reid's only aim is to show how these rivalries robbed the prince regent's government of prestige and hastened its overthrow.

To some it will seem a merit, to some a fault, that Dr. Reid has given his notes chapter by chapter at the end of the book, making it somewhat difficult to turn from a particular page to its proper note without consulting the chapter number. The notes occupy, however, more than a hundred pages and are in themselves so informative and interesting as to invite separate reading, an advantage that would have been lost if each note had been placed at the bottom of its proper page.

Dr. Reid's book decidedly deserves a permanent place on the shelf of any student of Far Eastern international relations. It has been written with great objectivity from original sources and is topically indexed and attractively bound and printed.

D. ROBERTS.

June 28, 1936.

A Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War: With Documents. By P. C. Kuo, A.M., PH.D. (Harvard), Professor of History, National Wuhan University, Wuchang. The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, China. 1935. Chinese currency \$6.

If the Great War was the end of an epoch for Europe, so has it been for Eastern Asia. The decline of Western political power, the steady pressure of Japan, are significant factors that make the theme of Professor Kuo's book seem an old issue. This is however not really the case, and since China has great power of survival it is important that Chinese opinion be considered even by those who have conquered her by force of arms. Is not the recent exhibition of Chinese art in London good evidence that the English nation has appreciated this important fact?

Western writers of the nineteenth century invariably dwelt upon the childish obstinacy of Chinese officialdom. Dr. Kuo, being Chinese, rightly respects their intelligence more. But he is not of the class of Chinese writers who insist upon calling China's first war with England an opium war. It was not an opium war, but surely the Westerner can agree with Dr. Kuo that Sir Henry Pottinger, under specific directions from Lord Palmerston be it said, showed "a bit of misdirected energy" in requiring that the value of the opium seized be paid by China because it was taken "as a ransom for the lives" of British subjects. This was one of the many instances in relations with China where the Westerner has been right in principle but wrong in judgment.

A feature in which this critical study is a distinct addition to material on the subject is the inclusion of more than a hundred pages of documents translated by the author and hitherto unavailable in English. All of these are taken from the collection of documents of the reign of Tao Kuang published in 1930 by the Palace Museum in Peking, 80 books in 40 volumes under the title *Ch'ou Pan Yi Wu Shih Mo* (道光朝籌辦夷務始末), or The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs.

D. ROBERTS.

The Couling-Chalfant Collection of Inscribed Oracle Bones. Drawings by Frank H. Chalfant, edited by Roswell S. Britton. The Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1935. Price C.\$2.40.

The Rev. Samuel Couling and the Rev. Frank H. Chalfant were the first to discover the inscribed bones and tortoise shell of Shang which are commonly termed Oracle Bones. Their discovery coupled with their study of the inscriptions opened a new and unheard-of source of information concerning the history, life and civilization of the people of Shang (1766-1155 B.C.).

The collection of bones and tortoise shell made by Couling and Chalfant were distributed among five museums, two in Britain, two in America and the Shanghai Museum of the North-China Branch Royal Asiatic Society which was the first museum in the world to acquire and exhibit a collection, which fact has been omitted in Mr. Britton's preface. The four other museums later to acquire collections were:

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Total of 760 pieces, consisting of 178 bone and 582 shell.

Acquired from Couling in 1909.

Carnegie Museum, Pittsburg, Penn., U.S.A.

Total 438 pieces, consisting of 208 bone and 230 shell.

Acquired from Chalfant in 1909.

British Museum, London, England.

Total 485 pieces, consisting of 282 bone 202 shell, and one antler.

Acquired from Couling in 1911.

Field Museum of Natural History. Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

Total 4 pieces, consisting of 2 bone and 2 shell.

Acquired from Chalfant in 1913.

Before these collections had been acquired by the museums, Chalfant made very accurate pen and ink drawings of bones and shells as well as their inscriptions. The book under review comprises 132 plates of these very carefully executed reproductions. It forms a very valuable collection of Shang inscriptions to work on and for those interested in the study of early Chinese writing, culture and civilization. It is a great pity that other large collections in various parts of the world have not been reproduced instead of keeping them shut up in some dark corner of a museum where they are not available to the general public. The publication of reproductions of these hidden away collections would do much to assist further research concerning the Shang Period. Mr. Roswell S. Britton is therefore to be commended for his painstaking effort in the publication of the very valuable book under review.

In Mr. Britton's addendum dated December 31st, 1935, he lists 83 pieces from the above collections which Mr. Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若 considers may be spurious or have had characters added to the inscriptions. In numerous instances this is a matter of opinion that may only be determined by careful examination of the specimens themselves. This however does not detract from the value of the book which is highly commended to those interested in the subject and it is to be hoped that others will follow Mr. Britton's good example and make other collections available by their reproduction.

H. E. GIBSON.

NOTE.—We are indebted to Mr. Britton for further photo-prints of fragments of archaic Chinese writing from Yin Hsü, the site of the later capital of the Shang Kingdom, near Anyang, Honan, in the form of a booklet of 21 pages, printed by the Commercial Press, Ltd., for the Chalfant Publication fund (殷虛甲骨相片, New York, 1935). Except for six magnified ossigraphs, the fragments appear in natural size or very nearly so. Two pieces shown are from the Couling—Chalfant collection; the other pieces all belong to the Princeton Collection which was also assembled by Chalfant in or shortly before 1906.
Editor.

The Chinese Eye. An Interpretation of Chinese Painting. By Chiang Yee. With a Preface by S. I. Hsiung. Methuen, London. 7s. 6d.

A painter speaking from his own world of line and subtle color, with enough knowledge and appreciation of western ways to interpret his School to the West, such is Mr. Chiang Yee, in his timely and authoritative little book, fragrant with an ancient culture.

The Introduction by Mr. S. I. Hsiung, translator of *Lady Precious Stream* into Twentieth Century English, speaks of the writer as a gentleman of many attainments, civic as well as scientific, and playfully congratulates him upon producing an unacademic work.

Mr. Chiang's acknowledgements are gracious, and in his own introductory chapter, he naively describes the difficulty to Chinese minds of appreciating western ideas of art; his own resulting search for the western background. He says:

"It is my ambition, not that you should weigh one art or one life against another, for in such things there can be no scale of assessment, but that you should have some data for understanding and appreciating Chinese painting in both its triumphs and its shortcomings."

Twenty-four plates representative of the best painting of many Chinese historical periods, illustrate the book. Mr. Chiang's comments, anecdotes and general discussions of these paintings are among his best paragraphs.

An excellent historical sketch draws in the high lights of Chinese art history as delicately and elusively as an oriental brush-painting. "A great deal of artistic ability was squandered in striving for success in official examinations, and political views grew as important as the divine spark. But in China there will always be some who have no interest in public affairs, and who prefer the cool air of the mountains. "Quietism" characterised the paintings of such men as these, since they were conceived in a negative spirit by people deliberately alienating themselves from human activities, and they often have the gentle nature of a pastime study." Of the Sung period he says:

"Painters were particularly concerned with seizing the significance of Form in objects. For this reason painting may be said to have grown realistic, but at the same time Form was impregnated with philosophical Idea, and it became the goal of the artists to evoke the indwelling spirit of the images they painted and to harmonise it with their own spirit."

The delightful story of Li Ssu Hsün and Wu Tao Tzu in competition is told; three months of laborious, richly-colored, carefully perfected work as against one day of inspiration, and the gracious Imperial approval bestowed alike on each. The story also of Wang Wei, founder of the Southern School, typical of his period "fond of forests, poetry and his lute, the type of character chiefly admired, cultured, thoughtful and religious. In him the various aspects of life found consummate expression; art, poetry and goodness."

Painting and Philosophy, synonymous with "culture", occupy a thoughtful chapter. "Because our people have for countless generations been trained to search for their original good nature, part of their gift from birth, you will find that they are ready to tolerate without retaliation." Taoist thought, Buddhist beliefs and the introspection of Ch'an Buddhism shine forth as vital forces, the obvious inspiration for the "Spirit Resonance," the "ch'i yün", which is the living principle of all art and without which there is no art in East or West.

The chapter on Painting and Literature is full of imagery; the one on Inscriptions perhaps the most needful for interpretation to western thought. The imperial custom of scattering seals indiscriminately over the finest of paintings old and new is courageously questioned as "one or two eyes are enough for any dragon."

Mr. Chiang discusses at length painting subjects and essentials; gives a fine exposition of mountain painting and the interpretation of trees, with apt references to suggested passages in English literature and the similar ideals of certain western painters.

The two final chapters of his book are concerned with the Instruments of Painting and the Species in which he tabulates the various expressions of art. His discussion of the "Four Treasures of the Room of Literature, Brush Ink, Stone and Paper" is excellent informative material and provides the traditional flavor which must place the tools of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy in their unique place worthy of museum collections.

EVA WYMAN DUNLAP.

Introduction to Chinese Art. By Arnold Silcock. Published by the Oxford University Press. London.

From the view-point of Archeology, Research or History, each sumptuously clothed in Art, the timely publication of this book must be a deep satisfaction.

In his generous preface Mr. Silcock acknowledges nearly every "great name" connected with Chinese art, beginning with Lawrence Binyon, whose poetry of thought must always be an inspiration. His single-page Introduction names the book "a simple picture of the age-long development of a great people and a noble art . . . not written from the point of view of an expert, but of one who endeavors to touch and look upon beautiful Chinese things with the sympathy and appreciation which all great art should inspire."

Illustrated by twenty-seven plates from the finest museum collections with the addition of sixteen ink drawings and an occasional "inked squeeze", each chapter headed by a rare poem consistent with its content, the story proceeds from dynasty to dynasty. Mr. Silcock avoids difficult names and dates, supplementing in his three appendices which cover rules for Chinese pronunciation, events of the Buddha legend and an invaluable chart, listing chronological events of Chinese history and those concurrent in the outer world. A modest index of proper names brings the book to a close.

Written in a clear, narrative style, the story of art in China grows from the giant ginko-trees, preserved and regenerated since the age of pre-historic saurians. Through mythological tales of growth, the values of archeological discoveries are considered and weighed. Each art, the making of bronze, ceramics, architecture, sculpture, painting or calligraphy is treated in the light thrown upon it by the most recent excavations and studies; printing and its extraordinary history in China proved after the dramatic discovery of the sealed chamber in the Tun Huang Caves; the various philosophies which so influenced painting, the two famous schools of interpretation and thought. Pages appear on Wei Sculpture, that climactic period of Chinese plastic art.

True to his title, Mr. Silcock makes a lucid distinction between the work of Chinese and European painters and cites Botticelli as a type among few "whose work discloses a similar approach to their art, a Chinese harmony of flowing line enhanced by subdued yet subtle coloring which is rare in the west where painting became enslaved to the habit of representing things as they are seen by the eye, but in the East it began by expressing thoughts which the painter-poet could not convey by the written word, and so became the art of presenting things which are invisible except to the eye of the soul."

The London reviewer places the "Introduction" first in utility among his list, contemporary with the Chinese Exhibition, as one which provides "digestible as well as factual material."

The end papers are valuable, ancient and historical maps approximating the Chou and Ming Dynasties.

EVA WYMAN DUNLAP.

Chinesische Malkunsttheorie in der T'ang- und Sungzeit. Versuch einer geschichtlichen Betrachtung von Dr. Ku Teng, Professor an der Universität Nanking. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1935. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co.

With the dissertation "Chinesische Malkunsttheorie in der T'ang- und Sungzeit" by Dr. Ku Teng this theme is treated for the first time by a Chinese scholar, who has profoundly studied the original sources.

As the difference between art-theory, art-criticism and history of art does not exist in the earlier periods, Dr. Teng gives in his first part the development of ideas on art until the Early T'ang dynasty. He points out that in the time of Confucius the philosophers already had theories on art, but only on Music, while art-theories on all the other branches of art first appeared in the Han dynasty and were started by the artists themselves. He gives the opinions about painting of several artists such as Wang I, Ku K'ai-chih, Tsung Ping and Wang Wei—how paintings should be after their ideal and how they often were. This material we find in the *Li-tai-ming-hua-chi* of Chang Yen-yüan, where we also find the *Ku-hua-p'in-lu* by Hsieh Ho, which is the foundation of one typical class of Chinese art-literature: the classification of painters. The K.H.P.L. was treated before by many scholars, but Dr. Teng works out very clearly that the 6 P'in (classifications) have nothing to do with the 6 canons, in which we see for the first time in this period the demand for realism. The K.H.P.L. was continued by Yao Tsui, who pays more attention to the brush stroke, which was of great influence on all the later critics.

In the second chapter we find an extract from the first and principal art historian works in the world by Chu Ching-yüan and Chang Yen-yüan, which contain biographies of painters, descriptions of paintings, the circumstances under which they were painted, new points of view for the classification and so on. The main difference of these works of the T'ang dynasty compared with former periods is that these two writers wrote only on things which they had seen; in this way they gave a standard for a more scientific writing.

The author gives in the chapter "aesthetics of the painter" the opinion on landscape painting of Ching Hao and Kuo Hsi. Here we find already the typical Chinese point of view that a landscape painting has to be true but not similar with an existing landscape. The landscape has to be taken as a whole which always changes its shape according to the standpoint of the season and the time. In the time of Ching Hao began the high estimation of black and white brushwork without colours, which shows even then high development of knowledge of "valeurs". Although landscape-painting is not a simple copy of nature it is likewise wrong if a painter—or worse than that a whole province—studies only one master instead of having the whole of nature in his heart and the technical possibilities of various painters in his hand. If we fully under-

stand this we have the key to the movement of the gentlemen-painters—a movement which is a permanent struggle: artistic against artizan-like painters. The latter we find in their best representatives in the academic group of court painters while the first group is represented by such high scholars as Su Tung-p'o, Mi Fei and later on Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, who were in their unmaterialistic way of painting highly influenced by the Dhyana-Buddhism. The first to see in his time the greatness of gentlemen-painting and the danger of artizan-like painting was Teng Ch'ung while before him such a man as Han Cho warns against painting which is not based on real technical ability.

Dr. Teng stops with the second half of the Sung dynasty, because by this time the chief ideas are already to be found. It is a pity that within this dissertation he had not room enough to give more texts, as Dr. Teng really has the ability to select just the part of the old compositions we need to be able to study the chief ideas and their development.

VICTORIA CONTAG.

An Abridged Catalogue of Certain Scutelleroidea (Plataspidae, Scutelleridae, and Pentatomidae) of China, Chosen, Indo-China, and Taiwan. By William E. Hoffmann. Lingnan University Science Bulletin, Number 7, August, 1935. Pp. iv, 294. Price \$1.50.

This useful catalogue is the outgrowth of many years of work in securing the information from the important existing literature regarding the so-called shield-backed bugs and stink-bugs that have been known to occur in the territory covered. It is designed to supplement Kirkaldy's Catalogue of the Hemiptera (1909) for the species of the region treated and is prepared primarily for the non-taxonomists in this area. Altogether 32 varieties, 448 species and 153 genera, falling into 3 families, have been catalogued.

It may be noted that the main catalogue was prepared and sent to press first and other sections were written in later times as additional materials were available to the writer. Under such circumstances, the continuity of the treatment is unfortunately interrupted and as a result there are certain inconveniences for using the catalogue. Following the main catalogue there are 16 pages for the additional species, the majority of which were secured from Dr. W. I. Yang's recent publications. In the third section, of Addenda and Corrigenda, which occupies 23 pages, the author takes great pains to insert important additions and corrections that have been noticed to his main catalogue so as to bring it up to date.

The remaining pages of the Bulletin, which form about one-third of the volume are devoted to (1) notes on comparison of Kirkaldy's catalogue of the Cimicidae with the present catalogue, (2) an alphabetical list of genera and species, (3) a long and extensive bibliography, (4) Appendix 1, with notes on the faunal subregions of Eastern Asia, (5) Appendix 2, with an alphabetical list of place-names classified into faunal subregions, and (6) a general index to the entire Bulletin.

The notes on the faunal subregions of Eastern Asia are most interesting. The author recognized nine faunal subregions, viz., Indo-Chinese, Manchurian,

Indian, Ceylonese, Malaysian, Philippine, Austro-Oriental, Japanese, and Siberian. Although the scheme here adopted has necessarily to be considered as tentative, for the available data are insufficient and so much more new information remains to be secured, yet it should be of suggestive and comparative value to all systematic zoologists who are also interested in zoogeography.

Finally, it is necessary to mention Dr. C. F. Wu's second volume of the "Catalogus Insectorum Sinensium", which makes its appearance almost simultaneously with the present catalogue and which contains not only the three Scutelleroid families treated in the present Bulletin but also all other families of Hemiptera. The announcement by the Fan Memorial Institute of the publication of Dr. Wu's catalogue in five volumes was made early in 1935, and the second volume for Homoptera, Hemiptera and Dermaptera has since then been anticipated. On the other hand, it is apparent that Professor Hoffmann has long been independently working upon his catalogue and its publication was also previously planned. Those who are unable to have possession of, or access to, Dr. Wu's expensive volumes will find Professor Hoffmann's catalogue a very useful work for the insects under treatment.

Y. T. CHU.

SINOLOGICAL NOTES

Review of a Review. The comments of Professor Paul Pelliot in Vol. XXXII, 1, of the *T'oung Pao* on "Le Présumé Album de Porcelaines de Hsiang Yuan-pien" would have come as a surprise if I had not remembered his "Notes sur l'Histoire de la Céramique Chinoise", *T'oung Pao* XXII, in which he speaks of the study of early Chinese ceramics in England and America as sponsored by specialists "who have eyes and taste" but who "have been and are archeologists rather than philologists." This led me to expect that his review of "Noted Porcelains of Successive Dynasties" by Mr. Kuo Pao-ch'ang and myself and of my article on the same subject in the 1932 *Journal* of the N.C.B. of the Royal Asiatic would be a discussion of art, so that I was not disappointed when I read his article in the *T'oung Pao*, though I must confess to amazement at his adoption of the old literary device of putting his conclusion in the title thus making it unnecessary for the ordinary reader to peruse the whole article. His article reminded me of the comments on Hsiang in Yün-shih-chai Pi-t'an which was quoted in our Preface and from which M. Pelliot has extracted some biographical notes. In these comments the author Chiang Shai-shu deplors Hsiang's habit of spreading his seals all over the face of valuable paintings and manuscripts which he likened to Shih Ch'ung's branding the faces of the beautiful ladies of his harem lest they elope or to smearing the beautiful face of Hsi-tzū. Prof. Pelliot has accomplished the same result by branding and smearing with desultory discussion the faces of the exquisite porcelains which Hsiang described and illustrated in his Album.

Of the forty-three pages of M. Pelliot's article fifteen (pp. 17-32) are devoted to a study of the genealogy of the Hsiang family, eleven (pp. 36-47) to the Album of Hsüan Tê bronzes, nine (pp. 47-56) to the Album of Shao Hsing bronzes and part of one page to the Album of Ancient Jades. There is nothing new in any of these discussions to those who read Chinese. A single reference to the Chê-chiang T'ung Chih would have been sufficient for the Hsiang genealogy and to the two volumes of Shao Jui for a discussion of the Hsüan Tê album where the facts are clearly stated. The discussion of the Shao Hsing album with its accompanying digressions concerning T'ien Pao Chü and Chiang Niang-tzū could have been omitted without loss to sinology, for it is entirely speculative conjecture. Thus thirty-five of the total forty-three pages are only incidentally related to the consideration of this Album.

In Hsiang's Album there are eighty-three illustrations, but of these only thirty-eight were of objects owned by him. Of these twenty-two are said to have been Sung dynasty products. Among these twenty-two pieces one may see

Hsiang's seven examples of Ting ware (Figs. 3, 4, 14, 24, 28, 51, 82), his three pieces of Chün ware (Figs. 20, 30, 41), his unique specimen of Tung Ch'ing ware (Fig. 71), his five Kuan ware specimens (Figs. 8, 13, 15, 50, 74), his four pieces of Ko ware (Figs. 12, 16, 23, 36) and his two pieces of Lung-ch'üan ware (Figs. 26, 27). All of these will repay careful examination. The Ting ware of Fig. 4 is described by Hsiang as "pure white and stainless like beautiful jade of mutton-fat texture," and of Fig. 6 as "white as congealed fat, without the slightest stain." This description has been proved to be accurate and has made it possible to correct the erroneous statement of the Ko Ku Yao Lun that "genuine specimens have tear-drop stains." Hsiang distinguishes different shades of purple Ting ware as soft purple (Fig. 3) and lustrous purple (Figs. 24 and 51). This agrees with the difference in color of the only two pieces of purple Ting ware that I have ever seen, viz. those of Mr. Kuo and of Ch'ên Hsi-ju. Hsiang describes the form of the wine-jar (Fig. 20) as "elegant and refined," and claimed that its "refined form and beautiful color qualify it to rank side by side with those of Ju, Kuan, Ko or Ting kilns." This favorable opinion of Chün ware has been fully justified by the examples found in the Old Palace and those which may be seen in many private and public collections. His short explanation of Tung Ch'ing ware (Fig. 71) as "green like the hue of a distant range of mountains" is poetic but also accurate as shown by a specimen of this ware in Mr. Kuo's collection. Hsiang describes the glaze of Kuan ware (Fig. 13) as "of light greenish blue tone, divided by lines into planes resembling ice crackles." He says of this Kuan ware water-pot that "classical elegance characterizes the form; the decoration is not ornate but restrained and without affectation."

Hsiang did not own a piece of Ju ware. He said that examples of it were rare, but fortunately he had been able to examine pieces owned by friends. His description of the miniature goblet (Fig. 22) owned by Shên Shih-hsing baffled us for a time, for it not only described the glaze as having the sky-blue tone which we found on pieces in the Old Palace but added that "the whole surface is free from crackles" and this was not true of any specimen of Ju ware which we had ever seen. We had been accustomed to expect always in this ware the long thin lines which have been likened to crab's claws and the small dots which resemble the round holes on the cross section of a palm branch, so that we had mental reservations as to the correctness of Hsiang's observation. But even in this we have found him accurate as now shown by a goblet of which we had heard for years as being in the collection of the Ch'ên family of Wei-hsien. Mr. Kuo had made many unsuccessful attempts to secure it. Finally about two years ago and subsequent to the publication of our book he secured possession of this goblet. To our delight we found that the goblet was exactly the one described by Hsiang and that the glaze was indeed free of crackles. The decoration, size and shape were accurately given in Hsiang's album and also corresponded to the illustration in the Hsüan Ho Po Ku T'u Lu of a similar piece in bronze. The Ch'ên family were related to the Shên family by marriage and were thus able to secure what must be the identical piece which Hsiang had seen and had accurately described though Ch'ên may never have seen Hsiang's album. The only divergence between our illustration and the goblet itself is that the inside glaze is not white but of the same color as the outside. The goblet which now rests in Mr. Kuo's collection fully justifies Hsiang's appraisal of it as "a rare example of the wares of the Ju-chou kilns."

I have said nothing of Ming dynasty specimens, for the truth of Hsiang's descriptions is easily verifiable. In the collection of Sir Percival David there

is a Hsüan Tê ink palette which resembles that illustrated in Hsiang's album Fig. 9 so closely that it might easily be the identical piece and in the Eumorphopoulos collection a high-stemmed cup, decorated in sacrificial red with three fish corresponds exactly with Hsiang's cup illustrated in Fig. 54.

But maladroitly all the beauty and grace of these porcelains are spread in vain in the sight of a philologist who hastens away to his books in search of the genealogy of the Hsiang family. Even here he was handicapped by the lack of a copy of the Chia Hsing Fu Chih in his attempt to trace the connection between Hsiang Chung and Hsiang Yüan-pien. If he had had this book he would have discovered (Vol. 53, p. 2) that Yüan-pien was the great grandson of Hsiang Chung's younger brother Hsiang Chih, and that Yüan-pien was not the brother of Yüan-ch'i but his half-brother. M. Pelliot expresses doubts as to Hsiang's having had a younger brother Kung-an (mentioned in the comments on Illustration 24) for the reason that he has found no other reference to this man, but he might equally well have surmised that Hsiang had no father for there is no record of his father's name as far as I know. As to Yüan-pien's older brother (or half-brother) Tu-shou, M. Pelliot states that his seal t'ao-hua ts'un-li jên chia is found on the Ku K'ai-chih scroll in the British Museum. This is a mistake in reading, for the seal on the scroll is t'ao-hua-yüan-li jên chia and is one of the many seals of Yüan-pien found on this scroll. It is mentioned in my article in the N.C.B.R.A.S. Journal Vol. LXIII, 1932. It should also be noted that the library of Tu-shou was only called Wan Chüan T'ang by Chu I-tsun in the complimentary sense of having many (wan) books and there is no mention of this name in the Chia Hsing Fu Chih as applied to Tu-shou's library. It was probably a play on the word "Tu" which was used in the Yüan Shi in reference to K'uo-li-chi-ssü who was such a "serious" (tu) student that he accumulated a large collection of books which he called Wan Chüan T'ang. But these discussions as to the Hsiang family are not germane to the consideration of Hsiang's beautiful porcelains and it is unnecessary to carry them any further.

M. Pelliot says that Hsiang Yüan-pien was not a scholar by which he must mean that he has left no writings, but surely scholars cannot be confined exclusively to the class of writers. His library, T'ien Lai Ko, is frequently described as one of the best collections in the country of standard books and noted paintings (法書名畫). The Yün-shih-chai Pi-t'an from which our critic has quoted an incomplete paragraph, refers to this library as a place to which "all the treasures of the Three Wu flowed like the water of a stream." In his poem "On Returning Home" (還鄉口號) Chu I-tsun apostrophises the library:

"The former residence of Mo-lin (Hsiang) is on the south side of the road;

The poetical inscriptions are still on the doors.

The books and paintings of T'ien Lai are scattered;

Now only the purple egg-plants and white spinach planted by his descendants may be seen."

A foot-note, which should delight such a frequent user of this quasi-scholarly device as M. Pelliot, states that the poems on the doors had been written by Huang-fu Tzu-hsün and T'u Wei-chên. Hsiang's burial place is not far away, being located at Han-tzu-wei south of the Tou-mên bridge (陡門橋) where there are gravestones written by such distinguished men as Huang Ch'êng-yüan and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Unfortunately no catalogue of this library has ever been found though diligent search for it must have been made at the time of the preparation of the Ssü K'ü Ch'üan Shu, for the Emperor Ch'ien Lung was an

ardent admirer of Hsiang and acquired everything he could find from Hsiang's collection. He valued these things most highly and it was his custom to write a eulogistic poem on the acquisition of any additional article.

It is altogether probable that this library contained all of the books or manuscripts mentioned by Hsiang in his Album, viz. Shao Hsing Chien Ku Lu, Hsüan Ho Po Ku T'u Lu, K'ao Ku T'u, as well as the record of the bronze vessels made at Chü-jung from the time of T'ien Pao (742-756) of the T'ang dynasty down through the Sung and Yüan dynasties. Among the first three books or manuscripts mentioned, i.e. Shao Hsing, Po Ku and K'ao Ku, we may take it for granted that he would possess the latter two. As to the first there should be little serious doubt, for Dr. William Hung has called my attention to the fact that the Yün Yen Kuo Yen Lu (雲烟過眼錄) of Chou Mi, 1232-1308, as quoted in Mei Shu Ts'ung Shu (美術叢書) ed. 3/15b, refers to the Shao Hsing Chi Ku Lu (紹興稽古錄) in 20 vols., and that it seems to have been an annotated and illustrated catalogue. This may have been preserved only in manuscript form like the Second Supplement of the Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien which Mr. Lien Nan-hu and I lithographed and published in 1931, or the Hung Chih illustrated Pên Ts'ao which lies unpublished in the collection of my colleague Mr. Kuo. Our own experiences with these manuscripts have led us to a different conclusion from that of M. Pelliot and we are quite ready to believe that Hsiang had full information among the manuscripts of T'ien Lai Ko concerning the Hsüan Tê and the Chü-jung ateliers all of which were lost or scattered in the sacking of Chia-hsing. In this holocaust some of the articles must have been preserved by the Hsiang family and it seems probable that among these were the original notes of the manuscript of our Album of Noted Porcelains.

We have been under no illusions concerning this Album. We have not considered that its present form was prepared by Hsiang Yüan-pien. In the Preface to our edition of this Album, after stating that it had become "one of the basic books on which all later studies by foreign scholars have been founded", we added that "although it was thought by many that the copy found in the palace of the Prince of Yi was the original one made by Hsiang Yüan-pien we consider this opinion to be erroneous." Bushell's reproduction was published in 1908 and had been constantly quoted by subsequent writers without any suggestion that it was not the original work of Hsiang. We were the first to call attention to their mistake. We went further than this by correcting several errors in the text some of which we accounted for by suggesting that Hsiang was not familiar with the processes of manufacture. Remembering that "the task of a pioneer is difficult" we dealt gently with Hsiang's errors and emphasized, rightly as we thought, the great value of the other parts of the text which described colors and shapes. But after stripping the Album of all excrescences we found no reason to doubt the claim of the Preface of the Prince Yi copy that this Album originated with Hsiang Yüan-pien. We indulged in no speculation as to how or when Hsiang's original notes were amplified into the present form of this Album other than to suggest the natural explanation that it was "a transcription made by Hsiang's descendants." If we were to have published any further speculation on this question we would have suggested that in our opinion the probabilities seem to be that Hsiang wrote all of the descriptions from time to time as he saw or acquired the eighty-three objects. As for the illustrations he called attention wherever possible to similar figures in K'ao Ku T'u, Hsüan Ho Po Ku T'u Lu, Shao Hsing Chien Ku Lu, or in other manuscripts owned by him in which the products of the T'ien Pao Chü and of Chiang Niang-tzū were illustrated. Where no existing illustrations were found he drew his own. The manuscript of Hsiang as later developed by some descendant into

its present form passed into the collection of Prince Yi and it was from this collection that Bushell purchased his first copy. Bushell's keen sense of beauty led him to secure the publication of this manuscript by the Oxford Press and he deserves great praise for this splendid achievement.

Mr. Kuo and I have believed in the attribution of the Album to Hsiang Yüan-pien chiefly on account of internal evidence and general probability. When we were classifying and arranging the large collection of the Old Palace Museum we found many pieces which reminded us of shapes and colors mentioned in Hsiang's Album. We compared the statements of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung which he had caused to be engraved on the bottoms of Palace pieces with those made by Hsiang and found that there was general agreement. More and more Hsiang's comments impressed us as of such great importance that we decided to bring out a new edition of the Album with such annotations and corrections as our experience with the Palace porcelains had confirmed. We made in our edition of the Album no conjectures nor suppositions such as I have made in this review as to the way in which it was produced for we were chiefly intent upon calling attention to the beauty of these wonderful porcelains. In our opinion also there was every probability that Hsiang was the author of the Album, for he was a wealthy man who could afford to indulge his exquisite taste, he had a rare love of the beautiful and he had a remarkable collection of manuscripts and books for consultation. He lived near enough in time and location to the dispersal of the treasures of the Southern Sung Dynasty at Ling-an (Hangchow) to be able by the judicious use of his wealth to collect manuscripts, paintings and bronzes as well as the porcelains which he has illustrated. It seems probable that he made copious notes on all the artistic objects in his collection but of these only his observations on porcelains have survived the ravages of time.

During our labor of love in preparing suitable paper, in comparing shapes and colors with existing specimens, and in printing the book in Peiping on our own presses we entertained the hope that we might produce an Album worthy of the beautiful objects described by Hsiang. Prof. Pelliot kindly calls it a "publication magnifique" in the first paragraph of his review and in the second commends my translation, but in the third he proceeds to drag the red herring of the genealogy of the Hsiang family and of the authenticity of certain books across the path of beauty made by our illustrations. We leave him with his herring, we prefer the Album.

JOHN C. FERGUSON (福開森)

Vol. III of ARTES, the impressive publication edited by Vilh. Wanscher, professor in the history of art at the Academy des beaux Arts in Copenhagen was received by the Society last year too late for a note of review. (Cf. ARTES Monuments et mémoires publiés sous la direction de VILHELM WANSCHER, professeur d'histoire de l'art à l'academie royale des beaux-arts de Copenhague. Tome III. 1935. Copenhagen, P. Haase & Fils.) Of particular interest to students of the history of architecture in China and of Christian missions as well, is the article by Mr. J. Prip-Møller, the distinguished Danish architect¹ on "The Hall of Lin Ku Ssü", situated outside the walls of Nanking. The writer seeks to ascertain the origin of this brick built so-called "beamless" hall, now made into a memorial hall for the heroes of China's revolution. It has generally been accepted and believed that this hall was built in the Ming Hung Wu era

¹ See his article "On The Building History of the Pao Shu T'a", p. 50 . . . Editor.

in 1383-84; but a close study of the building, made by Mr. Prip-Møller in 1929 as part of his four to five year period of research work in Buddhist temple architecture under the auspices of the two Carlsberg Foundations of Copenhagen, convinced him that it was older. A scrutiny of his own drawings and data together with information gathered from the temple chronicle made it clear to the investigator, after his return to Denmark some two years ago, that it was part of a Franciscan monastery, built early in the 14th century by Franciscan friars sent out from Avignon. The whole monastery lay-out was later taken over by the first Ming Emperor and turned into a Buddhist monastery, the Christian influence at the time being on the wane, as it no longer had the support which the late Mongol dynasty had provided.

The article has already received notice in various journals and the *Hon. Editor* is now fortunate in being in position to present certain valuable supplementary notes on this important article from a letter recently received from Mr. Prip-Møller himself. These remarks follow:

"As to the date of the structure, I have given it as early 14th cent. After the article had gone to press, I discovered that the hall in all probability was erected during the reign of T'ai Ting (1324-1327) [the date of erection in the article is given as about the middle of the first half of the 14th cent.]. The chronicle says that there was a *bell tower to the West* of the T'ien Wang Tien,—a most unusual location for a Buddhist bell tower, which is practically always to the East, provided the whole monastery faces South. There is no mention of a drum tower, neither is such a tower shown on the old drawings of the monastery found in the chronicle. In this bell tower "there was formerly a bell bearing the name and date of the reign of T'ai Ting". The lack of a drum tower and the location of the bell tower is in harmony with the non-Buddhistic origin of the Lin Ku Monastery, and the date of the bell, as said above, coincides with that, which for other reasons seems to be the date of the erection of the Franciscan basilica. Thus we here have an early 14th century church, as far as I am aware, the oldest known in China, displaying distinct characteristics of the church type known from Southern France of the 10th and 11th centuries, and transplanted to China with all its essential features.

"To these were added two Chinese features, which show the old friars' acute sense of what were the essentials of Chinese architecture, viz.: the bracket system under the eaves, and the *placing of the hall in the layout*. This was done like the Chinese temple halls with the longitudinal axis of the building at right angles to that of the whole layout. A truly Chinese atmosphere was hereby secured in a much safer way than the one usually employed today—where Chinese details at great cost are hung on buildings, *grouped according to Western patterns*—and the effect consequently lost.

"The article and the hall are discussed in the November number of the *Chinese Recorder* 1935 and likewise in the November 23rd number of the *China Weekly Review* 1935. The latter contains a few errors of minor importance; the plans reproduced are not by me but from Mr. Henry Killam Murphy's office, and the reconstruction of the hall does not employ the original bracket design, but that introduced some fifty odd years later by Hung Wu's restoration. The original brackets were much bigger than the latter, and made of wood, while Hung Wu's were of brick. The February number of the *China Journal* contained a review of the article by Mr. Sowerby."

E. M. GALE.

Russian Contribution to Oracle-Bone Studies. The modern Russian philological and historical methodology offers a new approach to the understanding of the Anyang bone inscriptions. The nucleus of the Russian research in this field is the Leningrad collection of 199 bones (counting reassembled fragments as one unit), now in the Section of Auxiliary Historical Sciences of the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences, formerly in the Institute of Book, Document and Writing. The collection was presented to the Academy in 1925 by the paleographer N. P. Lichatcheff, who acquired it in 1911 through M. C. Schekin of the Russian Embassy at Peking, who in turn had the assistance of the Governor of Shansi.

George W. Bounacoff was designated in 1932 to work this collection. Born in the Ukraine, educated in Moscow, in 1927 he entered the Chinese Department of the Oriental Institute, Leningrad, where he was graduated in 1931 and for two years, 1930-1932, taught Pekinese and Cantonese as assistant to Professor Shchutsky. Then he entered the Marr Institute of Language and Mentality, and presented for his master's dissertation an ethnographical-linguistic study on Terms of Relationship in Chinese (Russian and English abstracts published in 1935; entire work to be published). His interest turns upon sociological aspects of ancient China. In general methodology he follows the dialectical-materialistic school, and in language the new N. J. Marr school which takes a broad view of language as a function of social evolution and goes much beyond the glottogenic stage at which linguistic science usually begins.

Bounacoff's preliminary monograph, *The Oracle Bones from Honan (China)*, in Russian with English and Chinese abstracts, appeared as vol. 3 of the Transactions of the Marr Institute, published by The Academy of Sciences Press, Leningrad-Moscow, 1935. This is a most useful handbook, giving an account of the Anyang bone find with some particulars of collections, researches and publications, and a tentative outline of his interpretation. The polyglot bibliography contains 282 titles (terminating in 1933), and can be used by students who cannot read the annotations in Russian.

The problem of false specimens and forged inscriptions on authentic oracular bone continues to harass Western sinologists. Bounacoff examines this matter, p. 32 ff., and inclines to consider that forgeries are as a rule careful copies of true inscriptions, and that the doubt is unimportant for purposes of paleography and epigraphy (p. 34). This is going even further than Tadasuke Takata and Henri Maspero, who regard the matter as unimportant for paleography in so far as individual characters are concerned, but serious for epigraphy (*Journal Asiatique*, 1927, CCX. pp. 131, 133). In point of fact, the bone forgers have freely taken advantage of the ignorance touching these new materials from Anyang, and have often failed of their wonted caution and skill in making inscribed bones, cutting specious character forms, mutilating authentic forms, and concocting texts both with true forms and with mingled true and false forms. Frequently in the earlier stages of this business they inserted Chou forms unknown on the Shang relics. Products made by the better informed forgers can be quite useful for study and demonstration purposes. The most noted experts still disagree upon the genuineness of some pieces. The presence of numerous fakes and forgeries in Western museums, representing all degrees of forgers' skill, calls for caution and adds something of detective adventure to the proper zest of this research.

The temptation to censure "bourgeois science" and "bourgeois sinology" is recurrently irresistible of Bounacoff, but never leads him astray from constructive treatment. Some of his strictures are quite unanswerable, as e.g., p. 31, on the non-publication of the great work Bone Inscriptions left complete in manuscript by Frank H. Chalfant at his death in 1914.

Bounacoff notes, pp. 44-45, the tendency to neglect functional semantic changes, in the method of decipherment by identification of the ossigraphs with Chou bronze character forms and with forms transmitted in the Shuo Wen Chieh Tzū 說文解字. The conventional method of reading bone inscriptions rather invites the "anti-historism" of retrojecting Han and late-Chou concepts to an age of different culture and psychology. Tracing the stylization of a written symbol through ten or twelve centuries is one thing, and determining its changing sense from epoch to epoch is another. Yet it should be acknowledged that the pioneer scholars' angle of attack, as an initial approach, is quite logical and reasonable. Bounacoff gives a tentative sample of his semantic treatment, using the character 王, pp. 46-49.

In connection with the Marr theory of a "hand-language" or gesture-speech preceding oral articulation, Bounacoff makes the exceedingly interesting suggestion, p. 42, that certain characters of the 指事 *chih shih* category derive from gesture-signs. He concurs however in the view of most investigators that the Yin Hsü script is not primitive but on the contrary far advanced from the beginnings of writing. Western students of comparative paleography should be able to contribute to the understanding of the bone script, both in regard to the past meanings of characters with recognized continuing forms and in regard to ossigraphs as yet not satisfactorily identified (almost half the total). The Marr theory seems to offer fresh possibilities.

ROSSELL S. BRITTON.

The Chinese Periodical Press was the topic of a lecture in Wu-Lien-Teh Hall on December 12, 1935, by Dr. Roswell S. Britton of New York University, formerly of Yenching University where he was the first head of the Journalism Department opened in 1924. The speaker dealt with indigenous news institutions prior to the infiltration of Western journalistic practices in the 19th century. An abstract of the Lecture follows:

The Peking Gazettes. Ching Pao 京報 or as more generally known in Chinese history, Ti Pao 邸報, were the outstanding news periodicals of the Chinese Empire. They arose by a gradual evolution, and their long history remains undocumented at the beginning. They seem however to have originated in the form of newsletters from the imperial capital during the early Han Dynasty. Manuscript gazettes seem to have been in regular periodical issue during the T'ang Dynasty. Editions were printed in the Ming Dynasty, possibly earlier.

The use of printing in general lagged long after its discovery. The essential discovery in printing is the technique of engraving characters in lateral reverse to form a printing relief. This technique was known and used long before the invention of paper, 105 A.D. There exist inscribed bronzes of pre-Han date bearing repeated clichés of characters, the duplicates matching so perfectly that single stamp-moulds must have been used for impressing the wax models. Such stamp moulds must have been cut in reverse. The same is true of seal stamps used in early Han times for impressing clay seals, examples of which are fairly common in museums and private collections. Ink seal stamps appear to have come into use shortly after the introduction of paper. Technically, the printing block does not differ from the seal stamp. The block is merely larger, and for convenience is fixed face up, so that the paper is applied to it rather than it to the paper. Paper printing has been traced to the 8th century. It may have been practiced earlier, but even so there is a wide interval between discovery

and popularization. The invention of the art preceded the social demand. The wood block was ill adapted to speedy printing necessary in a daily periodical. Wax and clay blocks, and movable wood type, were used in printing the gazettes. But manuscript issues continued in circulation even down to the close of the last dynasty.

The gazettes contained imperial court announcements, edicts, and memorials which had been presented to the throne. They were organs of highest news interest. In capitals of the provinces the Yuan Men Pao 轅門報 functioned as smaller analogues to the Peking gazettes. In the aggregate, the gazettes almost completely served the news demands of official classes, gentry and literates generally. Little room was left for any other form of journalism. There was a small development of news sheets, Hsin Wen Chih 新聞紙, of a popular sensational character, printed and sold in large cities during the Ch'ing Dynasty, possibly earlier. Some of these were illustrated. There were also printed market reports in connection with great guilds.¹

Commercial advertising had no place in Chinese economy, and did not appear in gazettes or the popular news sheets. Publishers relied on sales for revenue. Gazettes were circulated by carrier and private post, and to higher officialdom through the government post. In Peking, and possibly in other large cities, chain subscriptions were maintained, the carriers delivering gazettes and then repeating rounds to pick up and redistribute the same copies.

Criticism of government, in the manner of a free opposition press, naturally did not appear in the gazettes, although criticism of individual officials and of policies did occur constantly in gazette documents. The placard was the Chinese means of publishing attacks which in other parts of the world gravitated into periodicals. An instance of placard propaganda is recorded of the time of the minister Tzū Ch'an 子產, 582-522 B.C. The political broad sides of this early time were written, possibly incised, on wood or bamboo tablets. In this instance, the contents were in nature of political criticism, as intimated by the context of the record in the Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu 18-4:

"In the state Chêng 鄭 there was much displaying of written matter by suspending [tablets in public places]. Tzū Ch'an ordered that written matter should not be so displayed. Têng Hsi 鄧析 (died 501 B.C.) then distributed his writings. Tzū Ch'an ordered that they should not be distributed. Têng Hsi then secretly circulated them. Orders were issued without end, but Têng Hsi contrived evasions also without end."

¹ For documentation, see Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press 1800-1912*, Shanghai, 1933.

Professor James M. Menzies' lecture on "The Art of the Shang and Chow Dynasties" at the Royal Asiatic Society on April 23rd, 1936 in Wu-Lien-Teh Hall, was illustrated by numerous oracle bones and photos of Shang bronzes, ivories and jades. His lecture follows in part:

"The Shang Dynasty is dated from 1766 to 1122 B.C. The particular part of the Shang Dynasty which we know from artistic remains dates from the reign of Pan Keng whose reign began 1395 B.C. The period under consideration therefore is the same as that of Tutankhamen in Egypt whose tomb yielded such wonderful results a few years ago. It is the same period of which Homer wrote when he sang of Troy and which was later excavated by Schlieman. It is the time of the Aryan invasion into India.

"All of these periods are well known in the west but in China few people have been willing to consider the Shang Dynasty as anything but mythical. From the oracle bones which were found at Anyang in North Honan and from recent excavations of royal tombs by the Academia Sinica we now know that China's culture and art were quite comparable with that of the Near East at the same period.

"The particular form of Chinese art in this period was the sacrificial bronzes with which they sacrificed to their ancestors. Royal tombs contained many of these, some very large and all very beautiful. The designs are quite different to those found in the west but are very elaborate and intricate. Animal forms largely formed the motif and over these bronzes are found conventionalized dragons, phoenix, tigers, rams, oxen, boars, and pythons. The so-called taotieh motif is really the combination of two side views of the dragon. The dragon appears to be conventionalizing of the alligator and on the bronzes we have the design spread out both right and left as if the animal's skin was divided down the center from the tail while the head was left connected. We therefore have the front on view of the face with two bodies, one extending to the right and the other to the left.

"The accompanying phoenix that is sometimes found associated with the dragon may perhaps be the conventionalizing of the crocodile bird who aids his friends by picking the blood suckers off the head of the crocodile.

"Many of the heads that appear on the bronzes are in no way related to the taotieh mask. They are the heads of sacrificial animals, sometimes the ox, sometimes the ram and sometimes the boar. These sacrificial animal heads merely indicate that the vessel was not for ordinary use, but for that of sacrifice only. The variety of sacrificial vessels in the Shang Dynasty is surprising. Cooking pots in which the grain was presented were sometimes four legged and square, sometimes three legged with long hollow lobes, sometimes merely a bowl set on three conventionalized legs; these legs representing sometimes phoenix and sometimes the coiled dragon. Food bowls were round and sometimes had handles.

"Wine vessels were very many in number, the commonest and most important were the libation cups called *ch'ieh pei* and libation vases called *ku*. These were the essential parts of everyone's sacrificial set. Apparently the *ku* was used for pouring out the libation while the *ch'ieh pei* was used for drinking the hot wine. The peculiar posts of the *ch'ieh pei* have been explained in many ways, but the one that is probably correct is that they formed a plane with the lip and tail of the cup, enabling it to rest steadily when turned upside down after drinking, the ordinary *kan pei* of the Chinese feast. In larger sets there were usually two wine pails called *yii* and a mixing vase called a *tsun*. Such a set is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York and rests on a low bronze table about 10 inches high; the only one known to exist. This would show that wine feasts were spread on low tables while the guests sat on mats.

"Probably the most elaborate wine vessels are the large covered jars called *hu*. There are two ears on two opposite sides for the fastening of ropes, while near the bottom on the third side is another ornamental loop through which the cords passed, enabling one to pour out by simply handling the ropes. These vessels are very elaborate and made of an alloy that often shines like speculum. This shows a very high knowledge of metallurgy. Not all of the vessels of the Shang dynasty were made of the same alloy, the poor ones contained a great deal of lead and were poor indeed, showing that the Shang dynasty could supply the needs from the very poorest to the very best. Other bronze vessels, the use of which we are not certain, were made in the form of elephants or birds.

"One elaborate jewel box from the beginning of the Chow dynasty inscribed with the title "Ming Pao the son of Duke Chow" was evidently made by the old artisans of the Shang dynasty, while the most important bronzes that we know such as the tripod of Duke Mao, inscribed with a long document of 496 characters, is cast on a crude vessel which introduces the inartistic shapes of the Chow dynasty.

"The art of the Shang dynasty is represented not only by bronzes but more particularly by the carved ivories. These ivory scepters (?) are covered with the same dragons and cloud and thunder patterns that we find on the bronzes. These bones were discovered along with the oracle bones which conclusively proves their Shang dynasty date. Jade also was one of the mediums in which the Shang dynasty artists worked. Carved stone portrayed grotesque conventional animals but in no case do we find anything that seems to represent idols or fetishes. In fact, one of the interesting discoveries is that the objects adduced by Professor Karlgren and others as phallic symbols really turn out to be the bottle horns of large animal heads which were apparently made in wood and clay.

"Taken all in all the art of the Shang dynasty shows little similarity to that of the Near East. This is so obviously true that scholars now postulate an entirely indigenous origin for Chinese culture. The language was so highly developed at this time that we know of no character that was introduced by the Chow dynasty. All the forms were there in the Shang already. Art forms also were peculiar to the Shang dynasty and form the basis of all the shapes and most of the motifs that people consider now as typically Chinese. China did have contacts with the west at later periods but its beginnings are peculiarly its own.

"The art of the Shang dynasty as we find it at the waste of Yin, the capital of the Shang dynasty 1395 to 1122 B.C., is already so highly developed that we must postulate a long period of history. It will be the problem of future archaeologists to find not only village sites of pottery, which have already been discovered at Yangshao, Lungshan and elsewhere, but to find the earlier capitals of this highly developed people.

"These should be looked for not in the far west but in the east somewhere in the region of the Shantung promontory. When these are found and their cultural origins determined it will add a new chapter to the history of mankind and his development of civilization."

At his second lecture before the Society on April 30, speaking on the "Cultural and Religious Ideas of the Shang Dynasty," Professor Menzies was able to give a few clues to the religious concepts of the people of that great civilization which thrived some 1,400 years B.C.

But the clues are few and archaeologists today are still dependent on the famous oracle bones and the bronzes for an explanation of life as it existed at that time. The Chow dynasty, which followed the Shangs, wiped out practically all vestiges of Shang civilization and archaeologists are left, for the most part, with only fragments to work with, according to Prof. Menzies.

In his lecture the speaker tried to show the concept of Heaven and God which the Shang man had, through the ideographs which have been found on the oracle bones. Many of China's present ideographs are traced to the Shang dynasty and many of that time in turn have been entirely lost to any meaning in present-day terms. He pointed out, for example, the character for a kingdom to the northwest of the Shangs which was constantly threatening the borders. All attempts to trace the country referred to have failed and so today modern scholars only have the written character but no explanation of it.

Professor Menzies traced the origin of the character *t'ien* for heaven and also *shang ti* for God. Both these, he was able to point out, have been misinterpreted by past scholars in the light of new evidence found in relics of the Shangs.

One of the commonest practices of the Shangs was to ask Heaven for advice by writing the question on the oracle bones, Prof. Menzies stated. The questions asked reveal that the people had a very definite idea of God as well as of a "heavenly city". Ancestor worship, the speaker pointed out, had also a firm grasp in the religious life of the people at that time.

In explaining these points, the speaker traced various ideographs to bring out his meaning. Despite these religious conceptions, Professor Menzies declared, nothing has been found in excavations to show that the people had any fetishes or were idol worshippers.

This lecture concluded with a short exposition on the art of bronze making in the Shang dynasty and the height to which artistic achievement in general had attained. A number of relics such as fragments of white pottery, ivory cane heads inlaid with turquoise, jade ornaments, ink pots and pens impressed the audience. These had been picked up by Professor Menzies himself during his wanderings in North China and on the site of the famous oracle bones.

The Editor notes the receipt of certain periodicals, etc., relating to a study of China which contain material of special interest: *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XXXII, Livr. 1, 2-3 publishes the article by Prof. P. Pelliot. "Le prétendu album de porcelains de Hsiang Yuan-pien," a consideration of the provenience and the authenticity of the celebrated work published as *Noted porcelains of successive dynasties with comments and illustrations* by Hsiang Yüan-pien revised and annotated by Kuo Pao-ch'ang and John C. Ferguson (Peiping, 1931). Dr. Ferguson makes a spirited and scholarly reply to Prof. Pelliot in our *Sinological Notes* section under the title "Review of a Review."—Professor Homer H. Dubs, who has assumed the task of translating into English the *Ch'ien Han Shu* in the Orientalia Division of the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) provides a paper on "The name and ancestry of Han Kao-tsu." Prof. Dubs gives reasons to doubt whether Liu Pang 劉邦 the frequently appearing name of the founder of the Han dynasty, Kao-tsu, was ever used for him by the oldest sources. His actual name appears to have been Liu Chi 劉季. The present volume of the JNCBRAS contains a related study by Prof. Dubs, "Han Kao-tsu and Hsiang Yü". Prof. Dubs is best known for his work *Hsün-tzu, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism*. An article of very special significance is "On the Nature of Chinese Ideography" by Herrlee Glessner Creel. This is the fruit of several years' intensive study and research at Peiping, based especially on the inscribed bone and tortoise-shell finds in Honan (cf. Mr. Gibson's and Dr. Menzies' lectures in this number of the Journal). Editor Pelliot observes under "Brèves Remarques sur le phonétisme dans l'écriture chinoise", "The publication of Mr. Creel's article *On the nature of Chinese ideography*, naturally indicates that I regard it as of real scientific value. His graphic analyses of characters, agreeing with the conclusions recently reached by Chinese scholars based especially upon the inscribed bone and tortoise-shell from Honan, must serve to supplant the traditional explanations which, drawn from the *Shuo Wên*, have been taken over by Father Wiegner and have even been incorporated in Prof. Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary*. . . . The Editor of JNCBRAS hopes to secure an authoritative and independent evaluation of Dr. Creel's paper for the coming volume (1937). Dr.

Creel, who is one of the younger group of sinologists in America, has resided in Peiping for the past three and a half years, engaged in research in the field of pre-Han history and archaeology especially the formative period of Chinese civilization between 1,400 and 600 B.C. He has recently been appointed to teach the language and history of China at the University of Chicago.—*Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, Troisième volume: 1934-1935, published by l'Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes chinoises contains an impressive array of monographs chiefly in the special field of buddhology exploited by this publication. Chinese epigraphy is represented by B. Belpaire, "Sur certaines inscriptions de l'époque des T'ang", while Professor Henri Maspero contributes "Le Serment dans la procédure judiciaire de la Chine antique", the dim and remote past of China which he has done so much to illuminate.—*Monumenta Serica*, Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peiping, Vol. I, 1935. Fasc. I, is a sumptuous volume, with a rich variety of individual contributions—"The Oldest Culture-Circles in Asia" by Wilhelm Schmidt, founder of "Anthropos" and exponent of the cultural-historical method; Dr. H. G. Creel provides another monograph out of his recent studies at Peiping "On the Origins of the Manufacture and Decoration of Bronze in the Shang Period" (with 12 collotype plates). Walter Fuchs, E. von Zach, the late lamented Editor F. X. Biallas, s.v.d. (see obituary notice), Henri Bernard, s.j. and Walter Liebenthal, are also contributors. The publishers are Henri Vetch, Peiping (annual subscription C.\$15 for China and Japan, U.S.\$6 for North America, 24/- for Great Britain and other countries). Fasc. 2 is announced to appear shortly.—*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Edited by Serge Elisséeff, Charles S. Gardner and James R. Ware, is again a new publication in its indicated field (Vol. I, April, 1936, Number 1). Its sponsors, the Harvard-Yenching Institute, propose to publish original scholarly contributions relating to Eastern or Central Asia, or to India. Translations or abstracts of important articles which have already appeared in Chinese, Japanese or Russian will also appear in its pages, as well as the usual book-reviews, annotated lists of important articles, etc. This first volume forms a Memorial Number to the late James Haughton Woods, a former professor of philosophy at Harvard University, whose continued interest in the Far East stimulated the establishment of courses in the Chinese language and in the cultural study of Japan at that institution. Of special interest to students of China are articles by Tschen, Yinkoh (the comma seems superfluous in this and other romanized Chinese names), "Han Yü and the T'ang Novel", Unokichi Hattori "Confucius' Conviction of his Heavenly Mission", William Ernest Hocking, "Chu Hsi's Theory of Knowledge." A. von Staël-Holstein, Tang Yung-t'ung and James R. Ware make important contributions.

The Editor is indebted to Dr. Roswell S. B. Britton (*New York University*) for an off-print of his valuable monograph "Chinese Interstate Intercourse Before 700 B.C." (from the *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 29, No. 4, October 1935). Dr. Britton confines his study to the twenty years 722-703 from the Ch'un Ch'iu and Tso Chuan. "One is a terse chronology covering 722-481 in the history of the state of Lu, in the northern group, the other is a discursive compilation cut and arranged as an amplification." Dr. Britton continues, "The text for the twenty years 722-703 contains the names of fifty-five bodies politic, in broadest sense, including organized barbarian tribes, town-states temporarily enjoying independence, and small states on verge of absorption into larger, together with forty-three principalities commonly considered states." The writer deals with the recorded relations of these political entities under eight categories: 1. Conferences; 2. Court visits; 3. Missions (here is an

interesting discussion of the word *P'ing* denoting "a distinct category of courtesy missions." The connotations of this word have departed far from this original meaning though in official usage it may still indicate "to invite" a foreign or alien person); 4. Envoys; 5. Treaties; 6. Transfer of Territory; 7. Asylum; 8. Mediation. The writer concludes, "The customs of mediation, asylum, covenant and treaty-making, and the customary forms of interstate communication, here described, are common elements of the Asiatic rudimentary international law. . . . The situation at the closing years of the eighth century is a departure point for comparison with evolving custom in later centuries and for inferring earlier developments." A useful bibliography is appended to the article.

As a Separatdruck from *Ostasiatische Zeitung*, there has come to us "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Hua Ch'an Shih Sui Pi (Notizen aus der Meditations-zelle über Malerei) und das Hua Shuo des Mo Shih-lung" by Victoria Contag (Mrs. von Winterfeldt). The work is an excellent example of scholarly investigation in the field of the history of Chinese aesthetics. A list of painters referred to in the text is attached, together with a useful bibliography of foreign, Japanese and Chinese authorities and sources. It is hoped that Mrs. von Winterfeldt will extend her productive studies still farther in this promising field.

The Editor of *T'oung Pao*, Professor Paul Pelliot, informs the Journal that desirous of renewing the early tradition whereby the scientific knowledge of France and Holland were associated in the editorial direction of *T'oung Pao*, he has the pleasure of making known to their readers that Professor Dr. J. J. L. Duyvendak has joined him as co-editor. Prof. Duyvendak is well known as the Director of the Institute of Sinology of the University of Leyden.

OBITUARY

REV. FRANCIS X. BIALLAS, S.V.D., PH.D., 1878-1936.

Dr. Biallas (輔仁大學鮑潤生司鐸) who died in Peiping May 28th had been a member of this Society since 1927 and during the few years of his residence in Shanghai was a frequent attendant at the open meetings. In Vol. LXI (1930) of our *Journal* his book "Konfuzius und sein Kult" was reviewed, and it was said of this that it "gives all the main facts in their proper setting, mentions all those who took part in the life of Confucius and states clearly the various problems that require further elucidation." All who had the privilege of knowing Dr. Biallas in Shanghai recognized him as a careful, patient student who had spent much time in preparing himself for his work.

His removal to the Catholic University of Peiping gave him the opportunity for literary work which he had long coveted. He taught classes in The History of Civilization and in Social Psychology but his chief interest was in the development of his Chinese studies. It culminated in the publication of "Monumenta Serica", only one volume of which saw the light of day before he was carried away by an attack of exanthemic typhus. He left a large amount of uncompleted research in manuscript which if he had been able to finish would have entitled him to a high rank among sinologists.

He had had a sound education in Silesia where he was born, in Berlin and Paris, at Steyl, Holland and in Rome before he came to China. After arrival he lived for several years in the stern scholarly tradition of the Mission at Yenchow in Shantung province near the home of Confucius whose teachings were the lodestone of his earliest studies. Later while he was in Tsingtao and Shanghai he made a critical study of the poet Ch'ü Yüan. Then he came to Peiping. Well travelled he had also a broad education as shown in his contributions to "Anthropos." His death is a distinct loss. His remains lie at Sha-la not far removed from the graves of Ricci, of Verbiest and Schaal and of Castiglione. He was another contribution of the Church to the new life of China.

JOHN C. FERGUSON.

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*Exchanges and Presentations of the Journal 1936.**China—Shanghai:*

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 " " The China Quarterly, 59 Hongkong Road.
 " " The North China Daily News & Herald, 17 The Bund.
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 " " China-Dienst, 209 Yuenmingyuen Road, 5th Floor.

The Secretary, Shanghai Municipal Council, Kiangse Road.

" " French Municipal Council, Avenue Joffre.

The Director, The Observatory, Zi-Kai-Wei.

" " l'Orphélinat de T'ou-se-wei, Zi-Kai-Wei.

" " Catholic Church, Zi-Kai-Wei.

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Institute of Economics, Nankai University, Tientsin.

Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies, University of Nanking, Tao Yuan, Kan Ho Yen, Nanking.

The President, Academia Sinica, Nanking.

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The West China Border Research Society, Chengtu.

The Director, Royal Observatory, Hongkong.

Far East in General:

Biogeographical Society of Japan, Shibaku Mitatsunamachi 9, Tokyo, Japan.

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The Academy of Oriental Culture, Tokyo Institute, 56 Otsukamachi, Korshikawaku, Tokyo, Japan.

The Asiatic Society of Japan, The Kyi Bun Kwan, Tokyo, Japan.

Deutschen Gesellschaft fur Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens, 18 Hirakawacho, 5 chome, Kojimachiku, Tokyo, Japan.

Korea Branch of the R.A.S., Room 27 Christian Literature Bldg., Shoro, Seoul, Korea.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1 Park Street, Calcutta, India.

Calcutta University, Senate House, Calcutta, India.

The Director-General of Archaeology in India, Simla, India.

Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, c/o Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi, India.

Bombay Branch of the R.A.S., Town Hall, Bombay.

Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S., Colombo Museum, Colombo, Ceylon.

Malayan Branch of the R.A.S., Raffles Museum, Singapore.

"Treubia", Dept. van Economische Zaken, te Batavia-Centrum, Java.

"Djawo", Secretariat van het Java-Instituut, Gondolajoe 14, Jogjakarta, N.O.1, Java.

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Czechoslovakia:

Archiv Orientalni, Orientale Institut Prague, Orientalni Ustav v. Praze, Praha, 111/347, Czechoslovakia.

Belge:

Mélanges Chinois et Buddhiques, Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Parc du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles, Belgium.

Denmark:

Nationalmuseet, Den Etnografiske Samling, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Italy:

Annali, R. Istitute Superiore Orientale, Napoli, Italy.

France:

Société Asiatique de Paris, Rue de Seine, No. 1, Paris, France.

Société de Géographie, 10 Avenue d'Jena, Paris (XVIe), France.

Musée Guimet, 7 Place de Jena, Paris, France.

La Revue T'oung Pao, 38 Rue de Varenne, Paris (VII), France.

M. Paul Geuthner, Librairie Orientaliste, 12 Rue Vavin, Paris (VIe), France.

Great Britain:

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W.1, England.

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 52 Upper Bedford Place, London, W.1, England.

Zoological Society of London, Regent's Park, London, England.

Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, London, S.W., England.

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The School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Clarence House, 4 Central Bldg., Matthew Parker Street, London, S.W.1, England.

The Librarian, National Library of Wales, Aberystwith, Great Britain.

Asiatica, London

The British Museum, London

Bodleian Library, Oxford

University Library, Cambridge

National Library, Edinburgh

Trinity College Library, Dublin

c/o Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 38 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1, England.

U.S.S.R.

Library of the Academy of Sciences of USSR, c/o Exchange Service Birzhevaya I, Leningrad, V.O., U.S.S.R.

Le Société Russe de Géographie, Demidov Pereoulouk 8-a, Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

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The State Museum of Central Industrial District (Moscow), Moscow 69, Malaya Nikitskaya 6, U.S.S.R.

Mineralnote Syrio, The Institute of Economic Mineralogy and Metallurgy, Moscow 17, Pyjevsky per 7, U.S.S.R.

United States of America:

Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

The National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

University of Washington Library, Seattle, Washington, D.C.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D.C.

The Moslem World, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.

Columbia University, Faculty of Political Science, New York.

Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

Harvard-Journal of Asiatic Studies, 17 Boylston Hall, Cambridge University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

University of California, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.

American Oriental Society, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.

University of Wisconsin, The Library, at Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.

Field Museum of Natural History, Ethnological Bureau, Chicago.

The Business Historical Society, Inc., Baker Library, Soldiers Field, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

American Philosophical Society, The Library, 222 Drexel Bldg., 104 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

The Pacific Historical Review, Dept. of History, University of California at Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

The American Museum of Natural History, The Library, 77th St. and Central Park West, New York, U.S.A.

South America:

Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Buenos Aires, Republica Argentina.

NORTH-CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1936.

Members are earnestly requested to inform the Secretary
at once of change of addresses or of any errors noted
in this list.

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|------|---------|---------------------|
|------|---------|---------------------|

HONORARY MEMBERS

| | | |
|---|--|---------------|
| Ayscough, Mrs. F., D.LITT. [MacNair, Mrs. H. F.] | 5533 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, U.S.A. | 1906 |
| Barton, Sir Sidney, K.B.E., C.M.G. | British Foreign Office, London | 1906 |
| Ferguson, Dr. John C. | 3 Hsi Chiao Hutung, Peiping | 1896 |
| Forke, Prof. Dr. A. | The University, Hamburg, Germany . . | 1894 |
| Hedin, Dr. Sven | Stockholm, Sweden | 1895 |
| Lanman, Prof. Charles R. | Harvard University, 9 Farrer Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. . . | 1908 |
| Lockhart, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G. . . | 6 Cresswell Gardens, South Kensington, London, S.W. 5, England | 1885 |
| Mason, Isaac, F.R.G.S. | "Suining," Loxwood Avenue, Worthing, Sussex, England | 1916 |
| Morgan, Rev. Evan, D.D. | 4 Greenway Road, Redland, Bristol 6, England | 1935 *1901 |
| Pelliot, Prof. Paul | 59 Avenue Foch, Paris, XVIe, France | 1901 |
| Pott, Dr. F. L. Hawks | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1913 |
| Putnam, Dr. Herbert | Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. | 1908 |
| Sampatrao, H. H. the Prince | Gackwar of Baroda, India | 1898 |
| Williams, Prof. Em. E. T., LL.D. | 1410 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. . . | 1889 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
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MEMBERS

(The asterisk denotes Life Membership).

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|--|---|------|
| Abbott, W. E., M.Sc. | c/o P.W.D., S.M.C., Shanghai | 1926 |
| Abend, Hallett | Apt. "C" 15th fl., Broadway Mansions, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Abraham, Miss A. | 83 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Abraham, D. E. J. | 83 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Abraham, R. D. | 83 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1914 |
| Adams, Rev. A. S. | American Baptist Foreign Mission, Hopo, via Swatow, South China | 1923 |
| Adam, Miss Edith M. | Ellis Kadoorie School, Shanghai | 1920 |
| Adrianoff, N. W. | Public Health Dept. S.M.C., Shanghai | 1935 |
| Aeschliman, Rev. Ed. J. | 1 Methodist Compound, Tientsin | 1936 |
| Ainger, Major E. | British Military Headquarters, Shang- hai | 1935 |
| Alexander, John | H. B. M. Consulate, Tientsin | 1932 |
| Allan, Dr. D. J. | | 1935 |
| Allan, Rev. C. W. | 128 Museum Road, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Allman, Norwood F. | Hamilton House, Room 206, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Andrew, G. Findley | c/o Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Anstice, E. H. | Apt. 12, 7/749 Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Argelander, F. | M. E. Mission, Kiukiang | 1930 |
| Arlington, L. C. | 8 Ta T'ien Shui Ching, Peiping | 1917 |
| Arnold, Julean H. | Room 502 Dollar Bldg., 51 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1904 |
| Augustine Library | Librarian, Cheeloo University, Tsinan, Shantung | 1922 |
| Bacci, E. | Sennet Frères, Pedder Street, Hong- kong | 1934 |
| Bahr, A. W. | Rosslyn House, Otlands Park, Wey- bridge, Surrey | 1909 |
| Bailey, R. | B. A. T. Securities Co., Ltd., 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai | 1925 |
| Baker, D. C. | Junior College, Modesto, Cal., U.S.A. . . . | 1923 |
| Baker, J. E., LL.D. | Mills Valley, Calif. | 1935 |
| *Barchet, Miss H. | Chinhoza, Ningpo | 1931 |
| Barker, Prof. A. F. | Chiao Tung University, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Barker, Prof. K. C. | Chiao Tung University, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Barnett, Eugene E. | International Committee Y.M.C.A., 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, U.S.A. | 1926 |
| Barrie, Dr. Howard | Wayfoong House, 220 Szechuen Road.. . . | 1920 |
| Bartley, H. S. | 445 Shanhaikwan Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Barton, Rev. E. Tomlin, B.D. (LOND.) | English Methodist Mission, Tangshan, Hopei, N. China | 1934 |
| Barton, Miss E. | American Consulate, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Basset, Major A. | 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai | 1934 |
| *Bateman, E. F. | c/o Caldbeck, McGregor & Co., 44 Foochow Road, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Bates, J. A. E. Sanders | The University Press, 160 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai | 1934 |
| *Bayne, Parker M. | Acadia University, Box 124, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada | 1911 |

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|-------------------------------------|--|------------------|
| Beale, N. G. | General Elec. Co. of China, Ltd., Shanghai | 1932 |
| Beaman, W. F. | 382 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai . . . | 1921 |
| Bebenin, V. S. | S. M. Police Headquarters, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Beauvais, J. | Foreign Office, Quai d'Orsay, Paris, France | 1900 |
| Behrens, I. | Gt. Northern Telegraph Co., Shanghai | 1935 |
| Bell, A. D. | Room 416, 150 Kiukiang Road, S'hai | 1933 |
| Beltschenko, A. T. | Portuguese Consulate, Hankow . . . | 1913 |
| Bergling, Rev. R. M. | Lutheran Theological Seminary, She- kow, Hupeh | 1936 |
| Bennett, C. R. | National City Bank, Peiping . . . | 1933 |
| Berlin, Arthur | C. M. Customs, 132 Parkes Road, Tientsin | 1936 |
| *Bessell, F. L. | "Ballantrae," Tongdeam Road, Hove 4, Sussex, England | 1905 |
| *Bigel, Emile | Municipalité Française, Revenue Dept., 230 Route de Say Zoong, Shanghai.. | 1925 |
| Bingham, Dr. Woodbridge | c/o U.S. Consulate, Kobe, Japan . . | 1936 |
| Binkley, C. K. | Cobb, California, U.S.A. | 1934 |
| Bixby, H. M. | China Airways, Fed. Inc., 51 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Black, S. | Ulvemosevej I, Rungsted, Kyst, Denmark | 1910 |
| Blackburn, A. D., C.B.E. | British Embassy, Peiping | 1917 |
| Blix, Peter | Shanghai Waterworks Co., Ltd., S'hai | 1936 |
| Boey, P. L. Mingcheng | May Hall, Hongkong University, Hongkong | 1929 |
| Boezi, Dr. Guido | 25 Via Pietro Borsieri, Rome (149), Italy | 1920 |
| *Bogomoloff, His Ex. D. V. | U.S.S.R. Embassy, Shanghai . . . | 1936 |
| Boland, Capt. B. | 1920 Avenue Joffre, Flat 400, Shanghai | 1925 |
| Bonin, Dr. G. von | | 1926 |
| Boode, E. P. | 25 Bazarstraat, The Hague, Holland .. | 1920 |
| *Bookless, A. | Salt Inspectorate, Chungking, Szechuan | 1933 |
| Boothby, B. | British Consulate, 68 Peking Rd., S'hai | 1936 |
| Bos, W. | Vlentin (v.), Holland | 1923 |
| Bosack, S. B. | Apt. No. 33, 1033 Avenue Joffre, S'hai | 1933 |
| Bowden, V. G. | Cameron and Co., Ltd., H. & S. Bank Building, Room 100, Shanghai . . . | 1923 |
| Bowen, F. A. | Comacrib Press, Museum Road, S'hai | 1935 |
| Bowen, Mrs. A. J. | 975 N. Garfield Avenue, Pasadena, Calif., U.S.A. | 1929 |
| *Box, Rev. Ernest | Medhurst, 26 Homesdale Road, Bexhill- on-sea, England | 1897 |
| *Brace, Capt. A. J. | Chengtu, Szechuen | 1921 |
| Brand, J. K. | Messrs. Cumming & Brand, H. & S. Bank Building, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Bremer, Miss M. A. | Am. Church Mission, Yangchow . . . | 1929 |
| Brenan, Sir J. F., K.C.M.G. | British Consulate-General, Shanghai .. | 1930 |
| Brenneman, Mrs. J. J. | | 1922 |
| Bridges, F. S. | Shipping Dept., A.P.C., 1 The Bund, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Brind, B. | Reiss Massey & Co., Shanghai . . . | 1935 |
| Brisker, M. G. | c/o The Thatched House Club, 86 St. James' Street, London, W. | 1921 |
| Bristow, John A. | Socony Vacuum Co., Shanghai . . . | 1933 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|---------------------------------------|--|------------------|
| Brittle, Miss Edith M. | | 1932 |
| *Britton, Roswell S. | 430 West 118th St., New York City, U.S.A. | 1931 |
| Britland, Rev. A. J. D. | Church of England Mission, Peiping .. | 1924 |
| Brooke, J. T. W. | Davies, Brooke & Gran, Shanghai .. | 1915 |
| Browett, Harold | 34 Museum Road, Shanghai .. | 1891 |
| Brown, U. S. N., Capt. C. C. | American Embassy, 218 Route Ghisi, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Brown, I. S. | U.S. Treasury Dept., Shanghai .. | 1927 |
| Brown, Rev. J. L. | Holy Trinity Cathedral, 219 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Brown, Miss M. H. | C.L.S., 128 Museum Road, Shanghai .. | 1931 |
| Brown, Rev. M. | 1380 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai .. | 1933 |
| Brown, N. S. | Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai .. | 1930 |
| *Brown, Thomas | La Roque, 17 Overton Road, Sutton, Surrey | 1885 1918 |
| *Bruce, Edward B. | | |
| Bruce, Rev. J. Percy, D.LITT. | "Teesdale," 31 Egmont Road, Sutton, Surrey, England | 1916 1935 |
| Bruder, Mrs. F. F. | | |
| Bryson, Dr. A. C. | Dr. Jackson & Partners, 27 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Butrick, R. P. | U.S. Consulate-General, Shanghai .. | 1936 |
| *Buchanan, E. M. | P.O. Box No. 1646, Shanghai .. | 1933 |
| *Buckens, Dr. F. | | 1915 |
| Bugge, Rev. Sten | Lutheran Theol. Seminary, Shekow, Hankow, Hupeh | 1924 |
| *Buma, C. W. A. | | 1921 |
| Burdick, Miss S. M. | Baptist Mission, West Gate, Shanghai.. | 1909 |
| Burkill, A. W. | 2 Canton Road, Shanghai .. | 1912 |
| Burnett, W. J. | British Wireless Marine Service, 2nd floor, Hongkong Bank Chambers, Calleyer Quay, Singapore | 1932 |
| Butland, C. A. | Asiatic Petroleum Co., Tsinanfu .. | 1920 |
| Butt, D. M. | Scott Harding & Co., Shanghai .. | 1935 |
| Calder, A. Bland | U.S. Commercial Attache's Office, 51 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Caldwell, Rev. H. R. | M. E. Mission, Futsing, Fukien .. | 1920 |
| Cannan, A. M. | Bisset & Co., J. P., 12 The Bund, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Carey, H. Foote | Woosung-Hankow Pilots, Shanghai .. | 1928 |
| Carlsen, N. P. V. | Gt. Northern Telegraph Co., 34 Ave. Edward VII, Shanghai | 1928 |
| *Carpenter, G. B. | | 1920 |
| Carpenter, P. S. P. | Insurance Co. of North America 113 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Carr, Paul R. | 2923 Packard Street, Long Island City, N.Y., U.S.A. | 1928 |
| Carrière, J. D. | | 1932 |
| Carvalho, Dr. A. de | | 1935 |
| Cassels, W. C. | c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai | 1921 |
| Chamber, Mrs. R. E. | Shanghai University, Yangtzepoo, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Chang, F. | Underwriters Savings Bank, 17 The Bund, Shanghai | 1924 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|---|---|------------------|
| Chang, K. P. | | 1934 |
| Chang, S. C. | 1726 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Chang Shuh Ling | Ming Sung Industries Co., 190 Ningpo Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Chang Ying-hua | c/o Ta Hwa Petroleum Co., Ltd., 109-111 Rue Pasteur, Tientsin | 1933 |
| Chang Hsin-hai, PH.D. | c/o Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nanking | 1928 |
| Chang, Kwang Tou | | 1933 |
| Chang, Sherman H. M., PH.D. | | 1933 |
| Chapman III, F. J. | Salt Revenue Administration, Taiyuan-fu | 1934 |
| Chardin, Père T. de | National Geological Survey, Ping Ma Ssu, Peiping | 1935 |
| Chatley, Herbert, D.S.C. | Whangpoo Conservancy Board, Shanghai | 1916 |
| Cheang K. C., M.A.(CANTAB) | 4 Jessfield Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Cheang K. Z., M.A.(CANTAB) | 4 Jessfield Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Chen, C. | China Travel Service, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Chen, H. C. | Education Dept. S.M.C., 180 Foochow Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| *Chen, K. P. | Shanghai Commercial & Savings Bank, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Chen, L. T. | Kincheng Banking Corp., Shanghai | 1932 |
| *Chen, W. Hanming | c/o North China Daily News, Shanghai | 1923 |
| Cheng Tsee Yoong | c/o Messrs. Hung Chong, 149 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1933 |
| *Chiao Tung University, Librarian | 1954 Avenue Haig, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Chien Soo-Chun, Miss | House 10 Pass. 100 Rue Paul Henry, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Chieri, Cav. Uff. Dott V. | Lloyd Triestino, Hamilton House, Shanghai | 1923 |
| Chou, Mrs. U. T. Bang | c/o The China Critic, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Chow Yao | Bank of Kiangsu, 371 Kiangse Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Chu, P. K. | World's Chinese Students' Federation, 191 Carter Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Chu, Dr. Yuanling T. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Chu, Dr. Tso-chih | National Medical College of Shanghai, 373 Avenue Haig, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Chun, Dr. J. W. H. | National Quarantine Service, 2 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Clarke, E. G. | Bisset & Co., J. P., 12 The Bund, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Cleland, H. R. | Lowe, Bingham & Matthews, 2 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Clementi, His Excellency Sir Cecil . . . | Holmer Court, Holmer Green, High Wycombe, Bucks, England. | 1905 |
| Clubb, O. Edmund, A.B. | Embassy of the U.S. of America, Peiping | 1931 |
| Coifford, J. | French Consulate-General, Shanghai | 1934 |
| *Cole, Rev. W. B. | Sien Yu, Fukien | 1917 |
| Coleman, N. L. | | 1934 |
| Collins, Miss K. | 1426 Yangtzepoo Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Conrad, H. | Agfa China Co., 261 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Cook, Capt. A. | Messrs. Butterfield & Swire, Hongkong | 1929 |
| Cook, Cyril B. | Imperial Chemical Industries (China), Ltd., Shanghai | 1933 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|---|--|------------------|
| Coole, A. B. | Tientsin Hui Wen Academy, M. E. Church, South Suburb, 3 Methodist Compound, Tientsin | 1926 |
| Cooper, Miss G. L. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1928 |
| Couling, Mrs. C. E. | 40 Birchington Road, Crouch End, London, N. 8 | 1916 |
| Coushnir, I. S. | The Bookstall, 282 Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1931 |
| Cousins, L. G. | Yee Tsoong Tobacco Co., Ltd., 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Cressey, Prof. G. B. | Dept. of Geology & Geography, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y., U.S.A. | 1925 |
| Cressy, Rev. Earl H. | 351 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai | 1923 |
| Crow, Carl | 81 Jinkee Road, Shanghai | 1913 |
| Cumine, H. M. | 149 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1929 |
| Cunningham, Hon. E. S. | Maryville, Tenn., U.S.A. | 1922 |
| Currelly, C. T. | Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, Toronto, Canada | 1923 |
| Dale, Rev. Alan T. | Methodist Missionary Society, 24 Bishopsgate, London E.C. 2 | 1934 |
| D'Alton, V. L. | Chinese Post Office, Tientsin | 1924 |
| D'Alton, Mrs. F. | Chinese Post Office, Tientsin | 1930 |
| *Darch, O. W. | c/o The Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., St. Helens Court, Gt. St. Helens, London, E.C. 3, England | 1922 |
| Davey, W. J. | c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9 Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 3 | 1920 |
| Davis, John Ker. | American Consulate-General, Vancouver, British Columbia | 1927 |
| Davis, Dr. C. Noel | c/o Messrs. John Pook & Co., 68 Fenchurch St., London, E.C. | 1910 |
| Davis, Monnett B. | American Consulate-General, Singapore, F.M.S. | 1935 |
| Davis, R. W. | North-China Daily News, Shanghai | 1924 |
| D'Elia, Rev. Father P. M., S.J. | Bureau Sinologique, Siccawei, Shanghai | 1928 |
| De Korne, Rev. John C. | Wellsburg, Iowa, U.S.A. | 1927 |
| Delhay, L. G. | Belgian Consulate-General, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Deas, Stuart | c/o Messrs. John Swire & Sons, 8 Billiton Square, London, E.C., England | 1919 |
| Dent, R. V. | 321 Avenue du Roi Albert, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Dickson, A. L. | Yee Tsoong Tobacco Distributors, Ltd., 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Diemer, Miss C. | | 1934 |
| Dingle, Edwin J. | 5455 Buena Vista Avenue, Rockbridge, Oakland, California, U.S.A. | 1917 |
| Dobbs, F. E. L. | Salt Revenue Administration, 47 Yih Yuen Road, Hankow | 1936 |
| Dobrovolsky, S. | Gresham Apts. 25, 1230 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Donald, William H. | Office of Pacification Commissioner, P.O. Box No. 68, Hankow | 1911 |
| Donnelly, Ivon A. | Taku Tug and Lighter Co., Tientsin | 1923 |
| Doodha, N. B. | 591 Amherst Avenue, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Dorrance, A. A. | Standard Vacuum Oil Co., Tsingtao | 1934 |
| Douthirt, Mrs. J. B. | Apt. 17b, 65 West Fifty-fourth St. New York, U.S.A. | 1934 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|---|---|------------------|
| Drake, Rev. F. S., B.A., B.D. | Cheeloo School of Theology, Tsinanfu, Shantung | 1930 |
| *Drake, Noah F. | Fayetteville, Arkansas, U.S.A. | 1928 |
| Duncan, A. McL. | C. M. Customs, Shanghai | 1922 |
| Dunlap, Mrs. A. M. | 166 Route Dufour, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Dunn, Dr. T. B., M.D. | 51 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Duyvendak, Prof. Dr. J. J. L. | Sinologisch Instituut, Leiden, Rapenburg 71, Holland | 1915 |
| Dzau, Ponchen L. E. | Hamilton House, 170 Kiangse Road, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Ecke, Dr. Gustav | Catholic University, Peiping | 1934 |
| Edmondston, David C. | Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Corp., Hongkong | 1917 |
| Eisler, Capt. W. L. | Eisler, Reeves & Murphy, 51 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Ely, Prof. John A. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1917 |
| Ely, Mrs. J. A. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1917 |
| Elzear, T. M. | Banque de l'Indochine, 29 The Bund, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Emanoff, N. N. | Messrs. Davies, Brooke & Gran, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Emms, A. | Lester Technical Institute, 505 East Seward Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Enders, Mrs. Gordon B. | c/o Duncan & Mount, 27 William St., New York City, U.S.A. | 1922 |
| Engel, Max. M. | | 1911 |
| *Eriksen, A. H. | Taarbackdals Vej 4, Klampenborg, Denmark | 1915 |
| Ermiloff, P. | Chinese Maritime Customs, C.P.O., Shanghai | 1935 |
| Eskelund, A. H. | c/o Messrs. Knipschildt & Eskelund, 220 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1931 |
| Essex Institute, Librarian | Salem, Massachusetts | 1906 |
| Evan-Jones, Dr. E. | 153 Nanking Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Evans, Joseph J. | Evans & Sons, 200 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1916 |
| Ezra, Moise | National City Bank Building, 45 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Fairburn, H. J. | Bridge House Hotel, Nanking | 1933 |
| Falk, Miss Elizabeth H. | St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Fan, Gilbert T. B. | | 1933 |
| *Farley, Prof. M. F. | Fukien Christian University, Foochow | 1924 |
| Feetham, Hon. Mr. Justice, C.M.G. | Judge's Chambers New Law Court, Johannesburg, S. Africa | 1930 |
| *Fearn, Dr. Anne Walter | c/o Cathay Hotel, Shanghai | 1911 |
| Ferguson, Capt. D. | Pilots' Association, 24 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Feldman, M. M. | Commercial Investment Co., 398 Kiangse Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Ferrajolo, Capt. R. | Italian Legation, Nanking | 1920 |
| Filsinger, E. | Filsinger (China) Co., Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Fischer, Emil S. | 15 Ex Austrian Bund, Tientsin | 1894 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|--|--|------------------|
| Fitch, Rev. George A. | Y.M.C.A., Nanking | 1921 |
| Flemmons, Sidney | Fokien Road Exchange, Shanghai Telephone Co., Shanghai | 1917 |
| Foo, Ping-sheung, LL.D. | Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Legislative Yuan, Nanking | 1936 |
| Forbes, Miss M. | Pacific American Airways, 507 Dollar Bldg., 51 Canton Road, Shanghai . . | 1934 |
| Forde, F. H. | | 1935 |
| Franck, G. M., F.R.G.S. | British & Foreign Bible Society, Chengtu | 1922 |
| Franklin, C. S. | Franklin & Harrington, 149 Yuen-ming-yuen Road, Shanghai . . . | 1935 |
| Fredet, J. | Chambre de Commerce Française de Changhai, Shanghai | 1922 |
| Freeman, F. R. | | 1932 |
| Freeman, M. | Asia Life Insurance Co., 17 The Bund, Shanghai | 1925 |
| Freise, Ignaz A. C. J. | P.O. Box No. 1013, Shanghai . . . | 1932 |
| Fritz, Mrs. Bordine S. | Swan, Culbertson & Fritz, Shanghai . . | 1935 |
| Fryer, C. H. | | 1935 |
| Fryer, George B. | 290 Hungjao Road, Shanghai . . . | 1901 |
| Gabbott, F. R. | Messrs. Gabbott & Co., 3 Rue Laguerre, Shanghai | 1929 |
| Gale, Esson M., M.A., PH.D. | Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai | 1911 |
| Galt, Rev. E. W. | Paotingfu, Hopei | 1924 |
| *Gamble, Sidney D. | 347 Madison Avenue, New York, U.S.A. | 1922 |
| *Garritt, Rev. J. C. | | 1907 |
| Garrod, S. H. | Canadian Pacific S. S. Co., Hongkong Library of Congress, Division of Orientalia, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. | 1931 |
| *Gates, Miss J. | Chief Sanitation Chemist, S.M.C., Shanghai | 1921 |
| Gaunt, Percy | | 1921 |
| Gaunt, Rev. T., M.A. | Theological School, Wumiao, Nanking | 1921 |
| Gauss, C. E. | American Consulate-General, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Gawler, G. N. | C. M. Customs, Swatow | 1925 |
| Genechten, Rev. Ed. Van | Catholic Mission, Nanhaochan, via Chaikowpu, Chahar | 1936 |
| Gerharz, J. W. F. | c/o Harbour Master, Hoihow, Hainan, S. China, Chinese Maritime Customs | 1929 |
| *Gerken, Chas. | | 1922 |
| *Germain, T. C. | Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai.. | 1934 |
| Gest Chinese Research Library, The . . | McGill University, Montreal, Canada.. | 1927 |
| Gibb, Mrs. J. McGregor | 538 Avenue Haig, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Gibson, H. E. | c/o Robt. Dollar Co., Shanghai . . . | 1915 |
| Gilliam, J. | Messrs. A. Lapato Sons, Ltd., Harbin | 1915 |
| Gillis, Captain I. V. | American Embassy, Peiping | 1911 |
| Givens, T. P. | | 1935 |
| Goddard, W. G. | Box 1954, G.P.O., Melbourne, Australia | 1929 |
| *Goodrich, Dr. L. C. | 206 Low Library, Dept. of Chinese, Columbia University, New York . . | 1933 |
| Goullart, P. | The American Express Co., Inc., 15 Kiukiang Road, (P.O. Box 1145) . . | 1930 |
| Graffenried, E. de | Swiss Consulate, 1469 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Graham, David C., M.A., PH.D. | West China Union University, Chengtu | 1924 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|--|--|------------------|
| Gran, E. M. | Messrs. Davies, Brook & Gran, 81 Jinkee Road, Shanghai | 1930 |
| Grant, Dr. J. | Rockefeller Foundation c/o Hamilton House, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Graves, Rt. Rev. F. R., D.D. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1918 |
| Graves, Miss Lucy J. | St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai | 1929 |
| Green, Mrs. D. Lyman | | 1935 |
| Grimmo, A. E. P. | Public Health Dept., S.M.C., Shanghai | 1924 |
| *Grodtnmann, Johans | China Export-Import & Banking Co., A. G., 15 Glockengisserwall, Hamburg, Germany | 1898 |
| *Groenman, F. E. H. | Netherlands Legation, Caracas, Venezuela | 1929 |
| Grosbois, Ch., M.A. | Municipalité Française Administration Bldg., 1212 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai | 1922 |
| *Grove, H. Dawson | c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Hongkong | 1934 |
| Gull, E. Manico | China Association, 99 Cannon St., London | 1915 |
| *Gunzburg, Baron G. de | | 1908 |
| Gutt, C. J. | | 1928 |
| Gwynne, Thomas | 40 Holly Heath, Off Hungjao Road, Shanghai | 1913 |
| Gyles, Paymaster Rear-Admiral H. A. | Wardown House, Nr. Petersfield, Hants, England | 1919 |
| Ha, Harris | | 1935 |
| *Hackmann, H. | | 1903 |
| Hail, Rev. W. J., PH.D. | The College of Wooster, 614 E. University St., Wooster, Ohio, U.S.A. | 1922 |
| Hamano, Makoto | | 1935 |
| Hamill, Alfred E. | Centaurs, Lake Forest, Illinois, U.S.A. | 1934 |
| Han, Dr. Y. S. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Handley-Derry, L. | Kailan Mining Administration, S'hai | 1935 |
| *Hangchow Christian College, Library | Zah-kow, Hangchow, Chekiang | 1924 |
| Hanson, Mrs. Victor | Shanghai University, Yangtsepoo, S'hai | 1933 |
| *Harding, H. I. | British Consulate, Yunnanfu | 1914 |
| Hardy, Dr. W. M. | 618 N. Broadway, Lexington, Ky., U.S.A. | 1912 |
| Harpur, C. | Public Works Dept., S.M.C., Shanghai | 1901 |
| Hart, Henry H., A.B., J.D. | Lecturer in Oriental Art and Culture, University of California, 400 Post Street, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A. | 1924 |
| Hartl, Joseph | Pofsdainerstr. 122, Berlin, W. Germany | |
| Hartman, B. O. | Messrs. Connell Bros. Co., 149 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Hartopp, E. L. | | 1931 |
| Harvey, Rev. E. D. | 59 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1931 |
| | Yale-in-China Office, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A. | 1924 |
| Hatano Yoshihiro | Japanese Commercial School, (Nippon Shogyo Gakko), 2103 Pinliang Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Haughwout, F. G. | P. O. Box 628, Manila, Philippine Islands | 1935 |
| Haughwout, Mrs. F. G. | P. O. Box 628, Manila, Philippine Islands | 1935 |
| *Haward, Edwin | c/o North China Daily News, Shanghai | 1931 |
| Hayes, L. Newton | 179 University Avenue, Providence, R.I., U.S.A. | 1924 |
| *Hayim, A. J. | Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai | 1928 |

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| *Hayim, Ellis | Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai | 1930 |
| Hayward, Capt. J. L. | | 1933 |
| Healey, Leonard C. | Education Dept., S.M.C., Shanghai .. | 1913 |
| Heeren, Rev. J. J., PH.D. | Cheeloo University, Tsinan, Shantung | 1915 |
| Heidenstam, H. von | Hogvalla, Vadsbro, near Stockholm, Sweden | 1916 |
| Heine, Miss A. de J. | | 1931 |
| Helmick, Judge Milton J. | United States Court for China, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Hemingway, B. | A. P. Co., Mukden, Manchuria .. | 1922 |
| Henchman, A. S. | Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai | 1929 |
| Henk, Frederick G., PH.D. | 643 William Street, Meadville, Penn- sylvania, U.S.A. | 1912 |
| Henry, J. M. | Lingnan University, Canton | 1922 |
| *Henry Lester Institute of Medical Research | 1820 Avenue Road, Shanghai .. | 1933 |
| *Hepner, Rev. C. W., B.D., M.A., D.D., PH.D. | 27 Sakurayama, Nakano-ku, Tokyo, Japan | 1931 |
| Hers, Joseph | Association Amicale Sino-Belge, Secre- tariat-Shanghai, (P.O. Box No. 570), Shanghai | 1907 |
| Herz, Rudolf | Agfa China Co., 261 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Hickling, N. W. | 16 Central Road, Shanghai | 1922 |
| *Hilderbrandt, Adolf | 8a Albrechtst., Lichterfeld-Berlin, Ger- many | 1907 |
| Hind, H. M. | c/o Phoenix Insurance Co., 27 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1923 |
| Hinder, Miss E. M. | Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai | 1930 |
| *Hippisley, A. E. | Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, London.. | 1876 |
| Ho, T. K. M.B.A. | The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai .. | 1935 |
| Hobart, Mrs. A. T. | 3031 Sedgwith St. N.W., Washington, D.C., U.S.A. | 1935 |
| *Hodous, Rev. L. | The Hartford Seminary Foundation, 92 Sherman Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. | 1913 |
| Hoehnke, F. | Union Brewery, 220 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Holt, Dr. Ivan Lee | St. John's M. E. Church, South, 5068 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A. | 1935 |
| Hommel, R. P. | "Gargoyl," Richlandtown, Pa., U.S.A. (Director, Mercer Expedition for Historical Research in the Far East, Fouthill, Doylestown, Pa., U.S.A.) .. | 1927 |
| Hone, Herman | Agfa China Co., c/o Otto & Co., 261 Szechuen Road, (P.O. Box No. 1819) Shanghai | 1933 |
| Hopkins, Paul S. | 17 Lucerne Road, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Hosken, Mrs. Wm. H. | c/o Colonel I. Moller, The Hosken Trading Co., Room 201, 33 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Hou, Dr. Hsiang-ch'uan | Lester Institute, 1820 Avenue Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Howard, Mrs. A. E. N. | c/o Jean Lindsay, 66 Nanking Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Howells, R. M. | S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai | 1928 |
| Hoyt, Mrs. Lansing | | 1935 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
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| Hsia, Dr. Ching-ling | c/o Mr. W. T. H. Hsia, 839 Connaught Road, Shanghai .. . | 1925 |
| *Hsu, Sing-loh .. . | National Commercial Bank, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Hsu, Wellington Sewson .. . | Translation Office S.M.C., 125 Hankow Road, Shanghai .. . | 1936 |
| Hu Shih, B.A., PH.D. .. . | 4 Mi Liang Ku, Peiping .. . | 1928 |
| Hu, Stephen M. K. .. . | Henry Lester Institute, 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai .. . | 1935 |
| Hubbard, G. E. .. . | Chatham House, St. James, London, S.W. 1, England .. . | 1932 |
| Hubbard, Rev. H. W. .. . | American Board Mission, Paotingfu .. | 1924 |
| Hughes, A. J. .. . | China United Assurance Society, S'hai | 1909 |
| Hughes, Rev. E. R. .. . | c/o Henry Hughes & Son, 59 Fenchurch Street, London, E.C. 3, England .. . | 1929 |
| Hughes, W. E. .. . | Asiatic Petroleum Co., Tsinanfu .. . | 1921 |
| Huldermann .. . | Ostasiatischer Lloyd, 20 Canton Road, Shanghai .. . | 1936 |
| Hume, Edward, H., M.D. .. . | Chinese Medical Missions, 41 Tsze Pang Road, Shanghai .. . | 1922 |
| *Hummel, A. W., PH.D. .. . | c/o Library of Congress, Division of Orientalia, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. | 1919 |
| *Huntington, E. R. .. . | Angus & Co., 320 Szechuen Road, Shanghai .. . | 1933 |
| Hutchison, D. C. .. . | | 1926 |
| Hwang, Prof. K. C. .. . | National Central University, Nanking | 1935 |
| Hynd, R. R. .. . | Pitmdie Rubislaw Den South, Aberdeen, Scotland .. . | 1913 |
| India Office, Superintendent .. . | Telegraphs and Mails Branch, Whitehall, London, S. W. 1 .. . | 1926 |
| Inui, Kiyo Sue, LL.D. .. . | Imp. Japanese Embassy, Shanghai .. | 1933 |
| Jacobsen, Axel .. . | Flat 416, 40 Ningpo Road, Shanghai.. | 1933 |
| Jacot-Guillarmod, Louis .. . | | 1935 |
| Jaffry, Capt. Paul .. . | | 1934 |
| Jager, A. G. de .. . | Philips (China) Co., 133 Szechuen Road, Shanghai .. . | 1935 |
| Jaspar, M. A. .. . | French Consulate-General, Shanghai .. | 1933 |
| Javrotsky, J. .. . | Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Jen, Dr. Yu Wen .. . | 45 Tunsin Road, Shanghai .. . | 1936 |
| Johnson, Hon. N. T. .. . | American Embassy, Peiping .. . | 1912 |
| Johnson, O. S., PH.D. .. . | c/o Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, U.S.A. .. . | 1927 |
| Johnson, Miss Lydia .. . | Y.W.C.A., Wuchang .. . | 1935 |
| Johnston, Sir R. F., K.C.M.G., C.B.E. .. | Eilean Righ, Kilmartin, Argyll, Scotland .. . | 1907 |
| Johnstone, Mrs. K. W. .. . | 17 Fo Shu Gardens, Tunsin Road, Shanghai .. . | 1935 |
| Jolly, J. Keith .. . | Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai .. . | 1935 |
| Joly, P. B. .. . | Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai.. | 1913 |
| Jones, J. R. M.A. .. . | The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai. .. | 1924 |
| Jong, Th. de J. .. . | Netherlands Legation, Peiping .. . | 1914 |
| Jordan, Mrs. F. C. .. . | c/o Yee Tsoong Tob. Co., Ltd., Soochow Road, Shanghai .. . | 1936 |
| Jordan, Dr. J. H. M.A. .. . | Health Office, S.M.C., Shanghai .. . | 1922 |

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| Josefsen-Bernier, S. | c/o Public Health Dept., S.M.C., S'hai | 1935 |
| *Joseph, Ellis | Joseph Bros., 12 The Bund, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Joseph, R. M. | Joseph Bros., 12 The Bund, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Joseph, S. M. | c/o Cathay Hotel, Shanghai | 1920 |
| *Jost, A. | Charles Rudolf & Co., Zurich, Switzerland | 1912 |
| Justesen, M. L. | Anglo-Danish Shipping Co., 8 Quai de France, Shanghai | 1913 |
| *Kadoorie, Horace | c/o Sir Elly Kadoorie, 259 Kiangse Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Kallberg, Miss E. | Church of Sweden Mission, Changsha, Hunan | 1936 |
| Kann, E. | 941 Avenue Foch, Shanghai | 1929 |
| Kao, Perkins | P.O. Box No. 1277, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Karlbeck, O. | Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden | 1914 |
| Karlgren, Dr. B. | Goteborge Hogskola, Goteborg, Sweden | 1922 |
| Kau, Dr. L. S. | 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Keaney, Dr. F. P. | | 1933 |
| Keen, Mrs. E. | New York Herald Tribune, Far Eastern Bureau, 34 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Keen, R. D. | Public School for Boys, Shanghai . . | 1935 |
| Keeton, G. W., B.A., LL.B. | Victor University, Manchester | 1926 |
| Kellner, E. G. | 750 Hart Road, House No. 1, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Kellogg, C. R. | Massachusetts State College, Amherst, Mass., U.S.A. | 1919 |
| Kelsey, H. F., B.S.C., A.M.I.C.E. | China Deep Well Drilling Co., 1029 Tongshan Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Kennedy, Capt. E. R. | Hongkew Police Station, S.M.C., S'hai | 1936 |
| Kent, A. S. | c/o Yee Tsong Tob. Co., Ltd., S'hai | 1913 |
| Khaw, Dr. O. K. | Peking Union Medical College, Peiping | 1935 |
| Ki Chun | Commercial Investment Co., 398 Kiangse Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Kiang Kang-hu, Prof. | Tsing Ziang Temple, 15 Sinza Terrace, Shanghai | 1936 |
| *Kilborn, Dr. L. G. | West China Union University, Chengtu | 1934 |
| Kilner, E. | 8 Florence Road, Ealing, London W. 5 | 1909 |
| Kimura, Dr. K. | Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Kimura, Dr. Shigeru | Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai | 1935 |
| King, Cheyuen Foon | Lane 340, 5 Avenue Road, Shanghai . . | 1935 |
| *King Chien Kun | 104 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai . . | 1932 |
| King, Mrs. D. K. | Nevada State Journal, Reno, Nevada, U.S.A. | 1930 |
| King, Prof. Harrison | St. John's University, Jessfield | 1927 |
| *King, Louis M. | | 1911 |
| *King, Soitsu G. | 11 Kaka Hutung, Peiping | 1924 |
| *Klautke, Rektor Paul | Stettin 10, Hebbweg 16, Germany . . | 1924 |
| Klebanoff, N. M. | 153 Nanking Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| *Kliene, Charles | Director of Chinese Studies and Translation Office, S.M.C., Shanghai . . | 1916 |
| Klubien, J. | Chinese Maritime Customs, Nanking.. | 1913 |
| Kobelt, A. | Ch. Rudolph & Co., 58 Hongkong Road, Shanghai | 1935 |

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| *Koester, Rev. Dr. H. | Catholic University, Peiping | 1936 |
| Komiya, Yoshitaka | Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Kops, Paul F. | Allman & Co., 206 Hamilton House, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Kotenev, A. M. | The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai .. | 1924 |
| Kozoolin, P. J. | Chinese Studies and Translation Office, S.M.C., Shanghai | 1934 |
| *Krisel, A. | 142 Museum Road, Shanghai | 1914 |
| Krysinski, Dr. J. | 44 Rue Delaunay, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Krueger, Pastor E. | 1 Great Western Road, Shanghai .. | 1930 |
| Kuck, Fritz W. | c/o Kaiser Wilhelm Schule, 1 Great Western Road, Shanghai | 1930 |
| Kuhn, Karl | Deutsche Farben H-G, 261 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Kunisawa Shimbei | 270 Hyakunin-cho, Ohkubo, Tokyo .. | 1917 |
| Kuo, C. C. | Chung-Hwa Studio, 349 Kwangse Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Kuo, P. C., PH.D. (Harvard) | Wuhan National University, Wuchang | 1936 |
| Kuo Ping-wen, PH.D. | Bureau of Foreign & Domestic Trade, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Kwang Hsih, His Lordship | | 1934 |
| Kwauk, S. Z. | Shanghai Benevolent Industrial Institute, 397 Kiaochow Road, Shanghai .. | 1932 |
| *Kwauk, Z. U. | | 1931 |
| Kwei, S. Shun | History Compilation Bureau of Greater Shanghai, 291 Rue Chapsal, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Kwong, Edward Y. K. | c/o The China Critic, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Lachlan, Miss A. | c/o Westminster Bank, Old Street Branch, City Road, London | 1923 |
| Lamansky, V. V. | 471 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai .. | 1932 |
| Lambelet, A. R. A. | Savoy Apts. No. 32, 133 Route de Say Zoong, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Lambert, Henri | Société Belge de Chemins de fer en Chine, 150 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Lamson, H. D. | Apt. 8 No. 11 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. | 1929 |
| Landale, D. F. | Jardine Matheson & Co., Shanghai .. | 1936 |
| *Latourette, Prof. K. S. | The Yale Divinity School, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn., U.S.A. .. | 1912 |
| *Laver, Capt. H. E. | | 1912 |
| Leamer, Dr. Bruce V. | Lieut. (M.C.) U.S. Navy, 114 Walsh Road, Lansdowne, Penn., U.S.A. .. | 1935 |
| *Leavens, D. H. | Harvard Business School, Soldiers Field Station, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. | 1917 |
| *Leavenworth, Chas. S. | 79 Howe St., New Haven, Conn. U.S.A. | 1901 |
| Lechler, J. H., M.D. | C.M.S., Mienchuhshien, Sze. | 1929 |
| Lederer, P. | Agfa China Co., 261 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Lee, Prof. Shao-chang | University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii | 1933 |
| *Lee, Dr. John Y. | Lane 611/33 Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Lee, W. Y., B.S.C. | 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Lee, William Yinson | The Tai Ping Insurance Co., 212 Kiangse Road, (P.O. Box 906) Shanghai | 1933 |

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| Lee, Dr. Y. Y. | National Research Institute of Geology, Nanking | 1981 |
| Leete, Rev. Wm. | The Kuling American School, Kuling, Kiangse | 1918 |
| LeFever, Rufus H. | 605 Burroughs Drive, Snyder, N.Y., U.S.A. | 1924 |
| Leith, A. C. | Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Lenhart, Miss L. E. | St. Andrew's Hospital, c/o American Church Mission, Wusih | 1928 1934 |
| Lenz, Dr. G. Jahn | | |
| *Leslie, T. | Elmers Glen, Salfords, Redhill, Surrey, England | 1914 |
| Lester, Miss E. S. | 2807 Conn. Ave., Apt. 305, Washington, D. C., U.S.A. | 1919 |
| Levi-Schiff di Suvero, Commdr. Vittorio | | 1935 |
| *Levy, S. E. | 113 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Lewis, J. | S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai | 1933 |
| Lewis, Robert E. | 55 Nottingham Rd., Rookville Center, L.I., N.Y., U.S.A. | 1935 |
| Lim Boon Kong, Dr. | University of Amoy, Amoy | 1930 |
| *Li Ming | Chekiang Industrial Bank, 159 Han- kow Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Liddell, Mrs. John | 578 Hungjao Road, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Lieu, Lindsay | Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai | 1935 1934 |
| Lillico, Stuart | | |
| Linde, Mrs. A. M. de | Remington Typing School, 210 Kiu- kiang Road, Shanghai | 1922 |
| *Lindsay, Dr. Ashley W. | 5727 Cote St. Antoine Road, Montreal, Que., Canada | 1910 |
| Ling, C. P. | China Commercial Adv. Agency, 2 Hongkong Road, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Ling, Dr. D. G. | 1355 Yü Yuen Road, House 22, S'hai | 1935 |
| *Little, Edward S. | | 1910 |
| Little, L. K. | Commissioner of Customs, Canton | 1931 |
| Liu, Chung-shee H., B.Sc. (Oxon.), Editor, "Science" | The Science Soc. of China, 533 Ave. du Roi Albert, Shanghai | 1936 |
| *Liu, H. S. | c/o C. L. S., 128 Museum Road, S'hai | 1935 |
| Liu, Yu-wen | China Institute of Pacific Relations, Chinese Y.M.C.A. Building, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Lloyd, Mrs. Magdalen | c/o Mrs. Grant, Peiping | 1930 |
| Lobenstine, Rev. E. C. | | 1935 |
| Lockhart, Mrs. (O. C.) Joana K. | 400 Avenue Haig, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Lockwood, W. W. | Y.M.C.A., 131 Museum Road, Shanghai | 1913 |
| Loewenberg, Dr. R. D. | 240 Rue Vallon, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Lonsain, A. J. R. | Netherlands Trading Society, Sassoon House, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Lord, Rev. R. D. | Anglican Mission, Yenchow, Shantung | 1918 |
| Low, P. C. | c/o O. E. Vougehr Fed. Inc., Hankow | 1936 |
| Low, Dr. C. W. | China United Assc. Society, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Lucas, S. E. | Bank of China, Palmerston House, 34 Old Broad Street, London, E.C. 2 | 1906 |
| Lunkley, Mr. R. E. | Otis Elevator Co., Rooms 206-8, Sassoon House, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Luthy, Charles | | 1910 |
| *Luthy, Emil | House 2, Lane 750, Hart Road, Shanghai | 1917 |
| *Ly, Dr. J. Usang | Chiao Tung University, Shanghai | 1932 |
| *Lyall, Leonard A. | 10 Cours des Bastions, Geneva, Switzerland | 1892 |

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| *Lyon, Rev. D. Willard, D.D. | 220 West Twelfth Street, Claremont, Calif., U.S.A. | 1927 |
| Ma, Dr. Y. C. | 1954 Avenue Haig, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Mabee, Fred C. | 152 Madison Ave, New York, U.S.A. . . | 1912 |
| Mackenzie, I. C. | British Consulate, Shanghai | 1936 |
| *MacNair, Prof. H. F., PH.D. | Dept. of History, University of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A. | 1920 |
| Maginnis, A. F. L. | | 1932 |
| Magle, Hans | Allegade 55, Odense, Denmark | 1932 |
| Maher, Joseph | | 1930 |
| *Mamet, O. | 2 Av. Général Leman, Assebrouck (les Bruges), Belgium | 1922 |
| Mar, Dr. Peter | Henry Lester Institute, 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Marsh, Dr. E. L. | Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai | 1908 |
| Marshall, R. Calder | 2 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1908 |
| Martillière, Dr. | | 1930 |
| Martin, Hugh | | 1932 |
| Martin, Mrs. W. A. | Bridge House Hotel, Nanking | 1916 |
| Martinella, A. | 8 Italian Bund, Tientsin | 1921 |
| Masson, J. R. | Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Mather, Wm. A. | American Presby. Mission, Tsingyuan, Paotingfu, Hopei | 1926 |
| Mathieson, Rev. J. C. | Canadian Mission, Hwai King, Ho . . | 1929 |
| Matsumoto, S. | Rengo News Agency, 34 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Maughan, J. R., A.R.L.B.A. | Messrs. Lester, Johnson & Morris, 1 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Maxwell, Dr. J. L. | Lester Research Laboratory, 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai | 1931 |
| McBain, E. | George McBain & Co., Shanghai | 1934 |
| McCarthy, G. J. | Dollar Steamship Line, 51 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| McClure, Prof. F. A., PH.D. | Route 3, Box 1715, Bethesda Station, Washington, D.C. | 1935 |
| McDaniel, C. Yates | Metropolitan Hotel, Nanking | 1930 |
| McDonald, B. A. | Canadian Trade Comm. Mission, S'hai | 1936 |
| McDonald, Ranald G. | 203 to 206 Missions Bldg., Shanghai . . | 1930 |
| McEuen, K. J. | Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Nagasaki, Japan | 1908 |
| McHugh, Capt. J. M., U.S.M.C. | U.S.M.C., Quantico, Va., U.S.A. . . . | 1935 |
| McIntosh, Miss E. W. | St. John's Convent, 28 Major St. Toronto, Ontario, Canada | 1923 |
| McLean, W. A. | 2308 North Odar St., Tacoma, Wash, U.S.A. | 1925 |
| McLorn, D. | Postal Bank, 181 Kiangse Road, S'hai | 1935 |
| McLaughlin, Rev. Wallace H. | 1215 Seltzer Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. | 1931 |
| *McMillen, O. W. | 24 Sindell Avenue, Fayetteville, Arkansas, U.S.A. | 1923 |
| McNeely, Miss M. V. | Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 140 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1928 |
| McNulty, Rev. Henry A. | American Church Mission, Soochow . . | 1918 |
| McRae, J. D. | China Navigation Co., Shanghai | 1910 |
| Mead, E. W. | Manchester University, England | 1916 |
| Meinhardt, Mrs. C. D. | | 1925 |
| *Meister, O., C.E., M.E. | 1394 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai | 1922 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
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| *Melnikoff, D. M. | Flat No. 3, Second floor, Asiatic Trading Corp. Bldg., S.A.D., No. 2, Hankow | 1919 |
| Mencarini, J. | c/o P.O. Box No. 795, Manila, P.I. | 1884 |
| *Mendelsen, Major Joseph A., M.C. | American Barracks, Tientsin | 1933 |
| Meng, C. Y. W. | 194 Feng Fu Road, Nanking | 1925 |
| Meng, Prof. Hsien-chen | 7 Hsiao Chang Kow, Soochow | 1935 |
| Mennie, D. | A. S. Watson & Co., Shanghai | 1916 |
| Menzies, Rev. J. M. | Chinese Research Institute, Shantung Christian University, Tsinan, Shantung | 1914 |
| *Merian, Hans | Multenweg 21, Binningen, near Basle, Switzerland | 1921 |
| Mesny, H. P. | House No. 78, Auvergne Terrace, Passage 201, Avenue Dubail, S'hai | 1911 |
| *Meyer, H. Fuge | Strandboulevarden 6, Copenhagen, Denmark | 1920 |
| Meyer, Paul W. | American Embassy, Peiping | 1936 |
| Miau Wai-kaung, M.D. | Pathological Laboratory S.M.C., S'hai | 1935 |
| Middleton, W. B. O. | Middleton & Co., Ltd., 2 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1930 |
| Millican, Rev. F. R. | Christian Literature Society for China, 128 Museum Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Mills, E. W. | H. B. M. Consulate, Swatow | 1920 |
| Mironoff, Prof. N. D. | | 1924 |
| Mogabgab, A. | Saydah & Saydah, 380 Szechuen Road (P.O. Box No. 618), Shanghai | 1932 |
| Mohrbacher, Rev. Father C. M. | Catholic Mission, Yenchowfu, Shantung | 1930 |
| Mølgaard, V. B. | British & Foreign Bible Society, Kunming, Yunnan | 1936 |
| *Moncrieff, J. E. | West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen | 1927 |
| Moorad, George | The Shanghai Times, Shanghai | 1934 |
| *Moore, Dr. A. | | 1913 |
| Morley, A. | The Shanghai Times, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Morriss, Gordon | Messrs. Lester, Johnson, & Morriss, Shanghai | 1933 |
| *Morriss, Harry | 118 Rue Père Robert, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Morris, Dr. H. H. | St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai | 1909 |
| *Morse, Mrs. C. J. | 1825 Asbury Avenue, Evanston, Illinois | 1919 |
| *Morse W. R., M.D., F.R.G.S. | West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen | 1930 |
| Mortensen, Rev. Ralph | 23 Liang Yi Street, Hankow | 1920 |
| *Mossop, A. G. | 5 Kinnear Road, Shanghai | 1922 |
| Munn, Rev. Wm. | The Dunston Vicarage, Dunston, Lincoln, England | 1921 |
| Munro-Faure, P. H. | c/o Asiatic Petroleum Co., Shanghai | 1910 |
| Münter, L. S. | c/o "Rödbjergshavn" per HUMBLE, Langeland, Denmark | 1921 |
| *Munthe, Mrs. Alexander E. | Banna Boo, Farnham Common, Bucks., England | 1925 |
| *Murphy, H. K., A.I.A. | | 1933 |
| Murray, C. P. | | 1930 |
| Musso, G. D. | Rome, via Piedmonte 45. | 1924 |
| Nakayama, Shozen | Tambaichi-machi, Nara Prefect., Japan | 1931 |
| Nance, Prof. W. B. | Soochow University, Soochow | 1922 |

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| Nash, E. T. | The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai . . | 1929 |
| Nathan, Major W. S. | Peking Syndicate, London | 1932 |
| Nathorst, Miss Ruth G. | Church of Sweden Mission, Changsha, Hunan | 1934 |
| Nethery, Dr. Wm. M., | Seventh Day Adventist Mission, Mukden, Manchuria | 1933 |
| Newell, Mrs. Isaac | 3 Ta Hsueh T'ang Cha Tao, Ching Shan Tung Chieh, Peiping | 1935 |
| Newman, A. L. | 59 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Newman, Kenneth | c/o Dr. Jack Nielsen, Maridolsveren 3, Oslo, Norway | 1921 |
| *Nielsen, Albert | c/o Navy Department, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. | 1894 |
| Nimitz, Capt. C. W. | Finnish Chargé d'Affaires, 301 Route Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Niskanen, V. | c/o Miss Norman, 23 Queen's Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England . . | 1936 |
| Norman, H. C. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1912 |
| Norton, Prof. J. R. | Associated Merchandise Corp., 19 Kiang Road, Shanghai | 1928 |
| Nutter, Mrs. Florence | 567 Hungjao Road, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Nyholm, F. | 13 Kwei Chia Chang, Peiping | 1935 |
| Nyström, Dr. E. T. | | 1920 |
| *Oakes, Rev. W. Longden | c/o M. M. S., 24 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2 | 1919 |
| O'Bolger, R. E. | The Eastman Kodak Co., 185 Yuen-mingyuen Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *O'Brien-Butler, P. E. | "Bansha," Plat Douet Road, Jersey, C.I. | 1886 |
| Odaki, F. | Tung Wen College, Shanghai | 1930 |
| Oldroyd, Miss Gertrude N. | Room 417, Missions Bldg., Shanghai . . | 1935 |
| Oliver, A. W. L. | Customs Service, Hart Road, Shanghai | 1924 |
| Olsen, F. A. | | 1932 |
| Onley, Rev. F. G. | General Secretary, Religious Tract Society, 40 Poyang Road, S.A.D. 3, Hankow | 1934 |
| Osborn, Rev. G. R. | c/o M.M.S., 25 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2, England | 1936 |
| Osborne, Mrs. Katherine | 81 St. Stephen Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. | 1934 |
| Ouskouli, M. H. A. | 451 Kiangse Road (P.O. Box 551), Shanghai | 1917 |
| Owens, A. C. | Wen Hwei Boys School, Am. Presby. Mission, Tengchow, Shantung | 1929 |
| *Paddock, Rev. B. H. | 107 Cornelia Ave., Mill Valley, Cal., U.S.A. | 1916 |
| Pai, Dr. Sitsan | Chekiang University, Hangchow | 1935 |
| Pain, J. C. | Asiatic Petroleum Co., Hankow | 1933 |
| Pak, Dr. Chubyung | 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Palmer, Capt. A. B. | P.O. Box No. 474, Shanghai | 1936 |
| *Parson, Desmond | Ts'ui Hua Hutung 8, Peiping | 1934 |
| Parsons, E. E. | c/o Holy Trinity Cathedral, 219 Kiang Road, Shanghai | 1916 |
| *Paterson, J. J. | Jardine, Matheson & Co., Hongkong . . | 1922 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|---|---|------------------|
| Patrick, Dr. H. C. | 22 Whangpoo Road, Shanghai | 1912 |
| *Patton, Rev. C. E., M.A., D.D. | 170 S. Morengo Ave., Pasadena, Calif. | 1924 |
| Payne, Mrs. Harry F. | 26 The Bund, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Pearson, C. Dearne | 434 Kiangse Road, Shanghai | 1908 |
| Peck, Mrs. Willys R. | American Embassy, Nanking | 1933 |
| Peek, S. H. | International Assurance Co., 17 The Bund, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Peffer, Nathaniel | Asia Magazine, New York, U.S.A. . . | 1918 |
| *Peiyang University Librarian | Tientsin | 1911 |
| Penfold, F. G. | 2 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1916 |
| Pennett, C. W. | | 1932 |
| Perkins, Mahlon F. | c/o Dept. of State, Div. of Publications, Washington, D.C. | 1914 |
| Perry, Charles E. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Perry, Harold G. | Standard-Vacuum Co., 94 Canton Rd., Shanghai | 1932 |
| Persen, K. A. | Associated Life Underwriters, 2 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Petersen, V. | | 1906 |
| *Peterson, R. A., M.A. | Box 105 Lima, Ohio, U.S.A. | 1924 |
| *Pettus, Prof. W. B. | College of Chinese Studies, Peiping . . | 1915 |
| Pfanner, Pierre | Ch. Rudolph & Co., 58 Hongkong Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Phelps, Dryden L., PH.D. | West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan | 1929 |
| Pickens, Rev. C. L. | American Church Mission, 83 Wu Fu Road, S.A.D. 1, Hankow | 1931 |
| Platt, B. S. | Clinical Unit, Lester Institute, 145 Shantung Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Plews, Mrs. J. C. | Lihue Kanai, Hawaii | 1929 |
| *Plumer, James M. | c/o Fay, Spofford & Thorndike, 44, School St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A. . . | 1931 |
| Poate, F. W. | Mackenzie & Co., Shanghai | 1928 |
| Polevoy, S. A. | 4A Hsi Ch'iao Hutung, Peiping | 1917 |
| Pollard, Robert T., M.A. | Dept. of Oriental Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., U.S.A. | 1924 |
| Pollock, F. A. | Jardine, Matheson & Co., Shanghai . . | 1936 |
| Porter, A. R. | Confederation Life Assn., 51 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Porter, Mrs. C. W. | Flat 31, 9 Rue Kaufmann, Shanghai | 1934 |
| *Porter, J. V. | Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai . . | 1935 |
| Porter, Harold, C.M.G. | 17 The Bund, Shanghai | 1930 |
| Porter, Prof. Lucius C. | Yenching University, Peiping | 1933 |
| Porterfield, W. M. | 221 South Gill Street, State College, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. | 1920 |
| Pott, Mrs. F. L. Hawks | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Pott, James H. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Poulsen, H. S. | Gt. Northern Telegraph Co., Shanghai | 1935 |
| Powell, J. B. | The China Weekly Review, 160 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai | 1918 |
| Pratt, J. T., C.M.G. | Foreign Office, Whitehall, London . . | 1909 |
| Pratt, Mr. F. L. | China Publishing Co., 160 Avenue Edward VII (or 464 Dixwell Road), Shanghai | 1935 |
| Price, Dr. M. T. | c/o Prof. Leslie Hanawalt, 490 Robinwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. | 1925 |
| Prideaux-Brune, H. I. | British Consulate-General, Nanking . . | 1914 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|-----------------------------------|---|------------------|
| Prip-Møller, J., F.I.A. | "Solyst," Jyderup, Denmark | 1929 |
| Public Library, The | Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A. | 1924 |
| Puckle, Raymond D. A. | 10 Arundel Gardens, Kensington, London, W. 11 | 1932 |
| Quong, Miss Rose | 136 Chatsworth Road, London, N.W. 2. | 1936 |
| Raeburn, P. D. | Lane 611, House 7, Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1916 |
| Rakusen, Dr. C. P. | Oculists' Institute Co., Ltd., Shanghai | 1935 |
| Ramondino, F. | | 1922 |
| Raven, Mrs. F. J. | c/o Mrs. F. I. Brown, 641 First Ave., Yuma, Ariz., U.S.A. | 1933 |
| *Rea, Geo. Bronson | The Far Eastern Review, Shanghai . . | 1931 |
| Read, Dr. Bernard E. | Henry Lester Institute, Shanghai. . . | 1933 |
| Read, H. H. | c/o Shanghai Club, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Reid, Miss S. H. | St. John's University, Shanghai . . . | 1935 |
| Reis, E. O. | 38 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2 . . . | 1926 |
| Reiss, Dr. F. | Room 64, 142 Museum Road, Shanghai | 1923 |
| Ritchie, W. W. | Directorate General of Posts, Nanking | 1907 |
| Robert, A. | Société Belge de Chemins de fer en Chine, 150 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1930 |
| *Roberts, Prof. Donald. | St. John's University, Shanghai . . . | 1916 |
| *Roberts, Mrs. F. M. | St. John's University, Shanghai . . . | 1935 |
| Robertson, E. S. | 11 Manorcrofts Road, Egham, Surrey, England | 1932 |
| Robertson, Dr. R. C. | Henry Lester Inst., Shanghai | 1933 |
| Rock, Dr. Joseph F. | 28 Shichiao p'u, Kunming, Yunnan . . | 1933 |
| Roe, F. H. | | 1935 |
| Roecheisen, Dr. H. | Agfa China Co., 261 Szechuen Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Rogers, J. M. | 506 E. Lafayette St., Dothan, Ala., U.S.A. | 1924 |
| Röhreke, Heinrich | Lane 1320, House 23, Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Roots, Rt. Rev. L. H. | American Church Mission, Hankow . . | 1916 |
| *Ros, Cav. G. | Italian Consulate, Shanghai | 1908 |
| Rotours, Robert des | 2 Rue Joseph-Bertrand, Viroflay, France | 1933 |
| Roulston, Rev. W. A. | Weihwei, Honan | 1931 |
| *Rowe, E. S. Benbow | | 1907 |
| *Rowe, O. S. Benbow | c/o Shanghai Club, Shanghai. | 1933 |
| Ruffé, M. D'Auxion de | 41 Rue du Consulat, Shanghai | 1930 |
| *Russell, Miss Maud | Y.W.C.A., 133 Yuenmingyuan Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Ruxton, Lt. Col. R. M. C. | Salt Revenue Administration, 13 The Bund, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Sabelstrom, G. B. | 28 Route Doumer, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Sadwin, Mrs. A. | 415 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai . . | 1935 |
| *Saeki, Dr. P. Y. | 164 Nishi Okubo, 3 Chome, Yodobashi Ku, Tokyo, Japan | 1931 |
| Sakamoto, Prof. Y. | c/o Swiss Legation, Tokyo | 1927 |
| Sandor, H. | 12 Rue D'Arco, Shanghai | 1922 |
| Sanger, F. J. | Lester Technical Inst., 505 East Seward Road, Shanghai | 1936 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|---|---|------------------|
| *Santelli, Dr. R. | 47 Rue de Siéyes, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Sargent, Clyde B. | Cheeloo University, Tsinan, Shantung | 1936 |
| *Sarkar, Prof. B. K. | c/o Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 2431, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. . . | 1915 |
| *Sassoon, Sir Victor | c/o Sassoon House, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Sator, G. | Room 312, 131 Museum Rd., Shanghai | 1935 |
| Sawdon, E. W. | Kingsmead, Selly Oak, Birmingham, England | 1916 |
| Schmitz, G. H. | The Ault & Wiborg Co., 157 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Schneider, Sister M. | | 1930 |
| *Scholey, Mrs. G., Jr. | c/o Balatoc Mine, Baguio, Philippine Islands | 1935 |
| *Schoch, J. E. | Villa Giovanna, Ponte Tresa, Swit- zerland | 1924 |
| *Schwarzl, M. G. | Yee Tsoong Tobacco Co., Accounts Dept., 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai | 1929 |
| Schwyzzer, F. | 850 Rue Ratard, Shanghai | 1932 |
| *Scott, W. | | 1930 |
| *Secker, F. | c/o Hotel du Nord, Peiping | 1930 |
| *Senger, Miss Nettie M. | Tsinchow, Shansi | 1923 |
| Shahmoon, A. E. | 113 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Shahmoon, Ezra | Room 122, 45 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1931 |
| *Shaw, Norman | Yarnells, Yarnells Hill, North Hinkley Oxford, England | 1912 |
| Sheppard, Rev. G. W. | British & Foreign Bible Society, S'hai University of Shanghai, Yangtsepoo, (or 57 Verdun Terrace), Shanghai . . | 1923 |
| Sherriff, Dr. Florence., (Mrs. A. W.) . . | | 1936 |
| Shinjo, Dr. Shinzo | Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Shimoda, U. | South Manchuria Railway Co., 24 The Bund, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Shioya, T. | Bank of Chosen, Szechuen Road, S'hai | 1922 |
| Shneider, A. | 137 Route Lorton, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Shiro, J. A. | Shriro Bros. (China), Ltd., 123 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Shirokogoroff, S. M. | Tsing Hua College, Peiping | 1923 |
| Shrimpton, E. R. G. | 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Shu, Dr. H. J. | 20 Rue de Paris, Hankow | 1921 |
| Siegel, H. W. | Kunst & Albers, Hankow | 1932 |
| *Sirén, Prof. O. | National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden | 1922 |
| Sjoholm, Rev. Gunnas A. | Church of Sweden Mission, Changsha | 1936 |
| Skinner, Dr. A. H. | Hankow | 1919 |
| Skinner, T. V. S. | c/o Mustard & Co., Shanghai | 1935 |
| Skryme, F. H. E. | Jardine Matheson & Co., Shanghai . . | 1936 |
| Skvortzow, B. W. | Harbin | 1918 |
| Smith, Ernest K. | Dept. of English, Yenching University, Peiping | 1933 |
| Smith, D. H. | English Methodist Mission, 33 Sey- mour Road, Tientsin | 1935 |
| Smith, Miss Viola | American Commercial Attaché's Office, 51 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Smothers, Frank | | 1934 |
| Sokobin, Samuel | U.S. Consulate, Tsingtao | 1934 |
| Sokolsky, Geo. E. | 302 West 12th Street, New York, U.S.A. | 1924 |
| Soong, Dr. T. F. | c/o Shanghai Commercial & Savings Bank, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *South Manchuria Railway Co., Library | Dairen | 1919 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|---|--|------------------|
| Southcott, Mrs. V. C. | c/o H. & S. Bank, 9 Gracechurch St., London, E.C. 3 | 1919 |
| Sowerby, Arthur de C., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. . . | The China Journal, 20 Museum Road, Shanghai | 1923 |
| Sparke, C. E. | Excess Insurance Co., Shanghai | 1932 |
| *Speelman, M. | International Savings Society, 9 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Spencer, Joseph E. | Chinese Government Salt Revenue Administration, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Spiker, Clarence J. | American Consulate, Basle, Switzerland | 1918 |
| Spilwanek, Ivan, | U.S.S.R. Consulate-General, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Squires, R. W. | Squires Bingham Ltd., 52 Nanking Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Stanford University Library | Stanford University, California, U.S.A. | 1922 |
| *Stedford, Dr. E. T. A. | Wenchow, China | 1919 |
| Steen, O. G. | The Robert Dollar Co., 51 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| *Stewart, Rev. J. L. | St. Andrew's College, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada | 1916 |
| Stewart, Wm. H. | Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corp., Shanghai | 1936 |
| Stockwell, R. K. | General Electric Co. of China, 23 Ningpo Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Stranack, M. W. | c/o Mustard & Co., Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Strehneek, E. A. | 260 Kiangse Road, Shanghai | 1909 |
| Stursberg, W. A. | | 1919 |
| *Suga, Capt. T. | Nissen Kisen Kaisha, Tokyo, Japan | 1919 |
| Summerfield, J. A. | c/o Fox Films Inc., Tientsin | 1935 |
| Sun, Mrs. J. H. | 20 Dah Hsia Villa, Chung Shan Road, Shanghai | 1930 |
| Sung, Prof. William Z. L. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Swallow, R. W. | Nankuan, Kaifengfu, Honan | 1934 |
| Swan, Mrs. A. H. | 397 S. Fraser Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. | 1928 |
| Swan, J. E. | Messrs. Swan, Culbertson & Fritz, Sassoon House, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Swann, R. N. | 17 The Bund, Shanghai | 1926 |
| *Swenson, Rev. Herman | Salem Evangelical Free Church, Changan (Sian), Shensi | 1931 |
| Tachibana, M. | c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai | 1881 |
| Tai, Dr. T. C. | Head Office, Bank of China, 50 Hankow Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Tan, Mrs. W. H. | Lane 608, 20 Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| T'ang Leang-li | Editor, People's Tribune, P. O. Box No. 2011, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Tarby, H. | c/o Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai | 1931 |
| Tarby, Mrs. H. | c/o Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai | 1931 |
| Talbot, R. M. | Chinese Maritime Customs, Amoy | 1915 |
| *Taylor, C. H. Brewitt | Cathay, Earlsferry, Scotland | 1885 |
| Taylor, G. E. | c/o J. K. Fairbank, 41 Winthrop St., Cambridge, Mass. | 1935 |
| Taylor, Hedley | Messrs. Reiss Massey & Co., Shanghai | 1933 |
| Tchang Si, Dr. | The Institute of Zoology, National Academy of Peiping, Peiping | 1935 |
| Tebbs, J. A. | Cathedral School, Shanghai | 1935 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|--|---|------------------|
| Teesdale, J. H. | c/o Thatched House Club, London . . | 1916 |
| Telberg, V. G. | International Bookstore, 169 Chung Shan Road, Tsingtao | 1935 |
| Thackeray, Brigadier F. S., D.S.O., M.C. | British Military Headquarters, S'hai | 1935 |
| Thackeray, Mrs. F. S. | British Military Headquarters, S'hai | 1935 |
| Thellefsen, E. S. | Gt. Northern Telegraph Co., Shanghai | 1935 |
| Thomas, J. A. | North Street, White Plains N. Y., U.S.A. | 1930 |
| Thomas, J. A. T. | c/o Mustard & Co., Shanghai . . . | 1890 |
| Thomason, Miss Lillian | Librarian, Shanghai University, Yang-tzepoo, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Thornton, A. E. | Lester Technical Institute 505 East Seward Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Throop, Rev. M. H., S.T.D. | St. John's University, Shanghai . . . | 1912 |
| Timperly, H. J. | The Manchester Guardian, 34 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Ting, I-hsien | 303 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1902 |
| Ting, K. T. | Commissioner of Customs, Hart Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Tipton, Rev. W. H. | Southern Baptist Missions, Room 701, 209 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1933 |
| *Tochtermann, Karl | Schulstrasse 5, Bad Harzburg Bundheim, Germany | 1900 |
| Toeg, I. A. | 69 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Toeg, Mrs. S. E. | 745 Weihaiwei Road, Shanghai . . . | 1935 |
| Tolly, Lieut. | 188 Avenue du Roi Albert, Shanghai.. | 1935 |
| Tomita, Dr. Gunji | Shanghai Science Institute, 320 Route Ghisi, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Tong Pao-shu | Chief Commissioner, Purchasing Commission, Ministry of Communications, 255 Peking Road, (537 W. Wuchang Road), Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Torrance, Rev. Thos. | 25 Warrender Park Road, Edinburgh, Scotland | 1922 |
| Touty, M. H. | H.M.H. Nemazee & Co., 190 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Trivett, Very Rev. Dean, M.A., D.D. . . | The Deanery, Shanghai | 1932 |
| Tsen, Dr. D. C. | St. John's University, Shanghai . . . | 1932 |
| Tseng, T. K. | Commission for Readjustment of Domestic and Foreign Loans, 6 The Bund, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Tsu, Mrs. Lan-Tsung | 11 Dah Hsia Villa, Chung Shan Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Tsu, Dr. P. N. | Church of Our Saviour, Dixwell and Tien Dong Roads, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Tsu, Dr. Y. Y. | St. John's University, Shanghai . . . | 1935 |
| Tucker, G. E. | 45 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1915 |
| Tucker, Mrs. G. E. | 45 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai | 1915 |
| Tung, Yuh Mou | The West Lake Museum, Hangchow . . | 1935 |
| Turner, J. H. L. | C. M. Customs, 421 Hart Road, S'hai | 1936 |
| Uchida, Naosaku | Tung Wen College, Shanghai | 1933 |
| Ungern-Sternberg, Baroness L. von . . | c/o Siemens (China) Co., Shanghai . . | 1924 |
| University of Rangoon, Librarian . . . | Rangoon, India | 1934 |
| Unwin, F. S. | The Angela, Victoria, B. C., Canada . . | 1914 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|---|---|------------------|
| Valk, M. H. Van der | Bureau Chinese Affairs, Batavia, Java.. | 1934 |
| Van Corback, T. B. | Bridge House Hotel, Nanking | 1913 |
| Van Os, A. P. | 430 Route Cohen, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Vanderburgh, R. M. | Lincoln Ave., west of Warren, S'hai .. | 1927 |
| Vandervort, Charles T. | Menlo Junior College, Menlo Park, California, U.S.A. | 1930 |
| Vargas, Dr. Philip de | Yenching University, Peiping | 1933 |
| Vereinigung der Freunde des China- Institute Frankfurt A./M. | c/o P.O. Box No. 1115, Shanghai .. | 1935 |
| Veryard, Robert K. | Y.M.C.A., Changsha | 1917 |
| *Vizeninovitch, Mrs. V. | 251 Hungjao Road, Shanghai | 1914 |
| *Vogel, Dr. Jur. Werner | Room 425, 133 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1930 |
| *Voigt, M. | 603 Embankment Bldg., Shanghai .. | 1933 |
| *Volpicelli, Comdr. Z. | | 1886 |
| Wade, R. H. R. | | 1918 |
| Wagstaff, W. W. | 118 Great Western Road, Shanghai .. | 1922 |
| Walker, Mrs. M. P. | St. John's University, Shanghai | 1931 |
| Walker, Miss R. | St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai | 1929 |
| *Walker, W. J. D. | Laboratory and Pharmaceutical Divi- sion, Sales Dept., Corning Glass Works, Corning, New York | 1930 |
| Waller, A. J. | Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai | 1916 |
| Walline, Rev. Edwin E. | 18 Route Winling, Shanghai | 1936 |
| *Wang, Dr. C. T. | 50 Route Amiral Courbet, Shanghai .. | 1933 |
| Wang, Mrs. T. C. | Lane 1854, 10 Sinza Road, Shanghai .. | 1935 |
| Wang Chi-yung | Shanghai College of Arts, 135 Lin Yin Road, West Gate, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Ward, H. Lipson | Platt & Co., 83 Peking Road, Shanghai | 1928 |
| *Warner, Mrs. G. B. | Museum of Fine Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, U.S.A. .. | 1925 |
| *Washbrook, H. G. | 14 Princes Park Avenue, Golders Green, London, N.W. 11 | 1908 |
| *Watson, P. T. | Fenchow Hospital, A. B. M., Fenchow, Shansi | 1920 |
| Way, W. H. | Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai.. | 1931 |
| Way, Mrs. W. H. | Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai.. | 1931 |
| Webster, Rev. James | Union Theological Seminary, Wuchang | 1935 |
| Webb, Dr. H. W. | I Poh, F.M.S. | 1928 |
| Wei, H. | 1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai | 1936 |
| Welch, A. J. | J. A. Wattie & Co., 10 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1933 |
| *Weng, Kochai C., B.A. | 134 Bruce Road, Tientsin | 1929 |
| Wen Yuan-ning | Editor, Tien Hsia Monthly, 1283 Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Werner, E. T. C. | 1 Ku'ei-chia Ch'ang, East City, Peiping | 1915 |
| Westbrook, Dr. C. H., M.A., PH.D. | 412 West College Street, Griffin, Georgia, U.S.A. | 1930 |
| Wheeler, W. R. | University of Nanking, Nanking .. | 1935 |
| White, Rev. F. J., D.D. | Route 1, Upland, California, U.S.A. .. | 1933 |
| White, Miss Laura M. | 234 Cottage St., S. Portland, Me., U.S.A. | 1916 |
| *White, Rt. Rev. Wm. C. | 604 Jarvis St., Toronto, Canada .. | 1913 |
| Whitgob, E. J. | Health Department, S.M.C., Shanghai | 1935 |
| Whittemore, Norman Clark | c/o Mr. Howard Whittemore, Rye, New York., U.S.A. | 1930 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|--|--|------------------|
| Whyte, Sir Frederick, K.C.S.I. | Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall, S. W. I, London | 1930 |
| Whyte, Lady | Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall, S. W. I, London | 1930 |
| Wickes, Dr. Dean R. | 629 North Carolina Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C., U.S.A. | 1924 |
| Widder, Emile | 54 Gt. Western Road, Shanghai | 1923 |
| *Wilbur, Mrs. H. A. | 10A Route Winling, Shanghai | 1920 |
| Wilder, Dr. Geo. D. | American Board Mission, (Tchow) Tehsien, Shantung | 1924 |
| *Wilhelm, P. | House No. 4, Lane 750 Hart Road, Shanghai | 1924 |
| Wilkinson, E. S. | Messrs. Thomason & Co., 20 Canton Road, Shanghai | 1911 |
| *Williams, C. A. S. | "Glenwood" 7 King Charles Road, Sur- biton, Surrey, England | 1919 |
| Williams, Dr. J. T. | Room 704, 209 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai | 1925 |
| Wilson, D. A. | China Imp. & Exp. Lumber Co., S'hai | 1935 |
| Wilson, G. L., F.S.I. | Palmer & Turner, 17 Canton Rd., S'hai | 1921 |
| Winter, F. B. | Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai | 1931 |
| Winter, R. S. | S.M.C. Secretariat, Shanghai | 1930 |
| Winterfeldt, Dr. Victoria von | 799 Avenue Haig, House No. 1, S'hai | 1935 |
| Wissmann, Prof. Dr. von | National Central University, Nanking | 1932 |
| Wong, Yün Wu | Managing Director, Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai | 1927 |
| Woo, Yao-tchi. | C. M. Customs, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Woodhead, H. G. W. | Editor, Oriental Affairs, 19 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Woodward, A. M. Tracey, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S., F.R.P.S.L. | Chateau Millefleurs, Cadaujac, (Gi- ronde), France | 1921 |
| Worton, Major W. A. | | 1936 |
| *Wright, S. F. | Inspectorate General of Customs, 421 Hart Road, Shanghai | 1921 |
| Wu, Stephen | | 1935 |
| Wu, Chenfu F. | Yenching University, Peiping | 1935 |
| Wu, H. H. Mayor Te-chen | 464 Avenue Haig, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Wu, John C. H., J.D. | 42 Jessfield Road, Shanghai | 1930 |
| *Wu Lien-teh, Dr. | National Quarantine Service, Room 418, Glen Bldg., Shanghai | 1916 |
| Wunsch, Dr. H. | 1191 Floor 3 Bubbling Well Rd., S'hai | 1936 |
| Yankotsky, George | Sei Shin, Chosen | 1932 |
| Yates, Smith | 1805 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai | 1934 |
| Yen, Teng-chien | 7 Hsia I Fang, Foo Lung Chieh, Soochow | 1934 |
| Yeo, Yuson | Metropolitan Land Co., Ltd., 81 Jinkee Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Yetts, Prof. W. Perceval, O.B.E., D.LIT. | 4 Aubrey Road, Campden Hill, London, W. 8 | 1909 |
| Young, C. E. | Hartzenbusch Motors, 730 Avenue Foch, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Young, Miss M. L. | 9 Singapore Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Young, R. C. | Public Works Dept., S.M.C., Shanghai | 1912 |
| Young, S. C. | S.M. Police Headquarters, Shanghai | 1923 |

| Name | Address | Year of Election |
|---------------------------------------|---|------------------|
| Yui, O. K. | Lane 37, House 119, Brennan Road, Shanghai | 1935 |
| Zee Zaiziang | China Chemical Industries, 101 Sassoon Building, Shanghai | 1935 |
| *Zih Dzu Sing | Mercantile Bank of India, Shanghai . . | 1932 |
| *Zwemer, Rev. Samuel M., D.D. | The Theological Seminary, 48 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J., U.S.A. . . | 1917 |

TOTALS:

CLASSIFIED AS:—

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Honorary Members | 14 | Residing in Shanghai | 471 |
| Life Members | 173 | Residing elsewhere in China | 155 |
| Ordinary Members | 716 | Residing in other countries | 201 |
| | | Addresses unknown | 76 |

Total 903

Total 903

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|------------------------|----|
| List 1935 | 852 | Resignations | 18 |
| New Members | 74 | Deaths | 5 |

Total 926

Total 23

926

23

Present Membership 903